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I

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET.

* Mr. T. S. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I understand that it is the practice in this House to give an opportunity to new recruits to offer their remarks in the beginning of the budget discussion, and with your kind leave, Sir, I propose to take advantage of this kindness. Though I have the honour to represent the University of Madras in this Council, I have tried to view the budget as a man in the street, as one of those who pay land revenue. It is stated, Sir, that the most important revenues to the provincial exchequer are the land revenue and the excise revenue, and therefore, Sir, I propose to confine my remarks mainly to those two items. I congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for having presented to us what may be called a prosperity budget. It is the fifth, I take it, of a series of prosperity budgets which the hon. the Finance Member has been able to present to this House. Thanks to the great fight that he as our representative in the Legislative Assembly put up for the abolition of provincial contributions, it has been possible for this Presidency to have, as it were, a few prosperous years during the regime of the hon. the Finance Member. Our thanks are due to him for his achievement in getting the provincial contribution abolished. But the question arises how has that money been spent, how have the spoils of war been used? The hon. Member came back to Madras, assumed office as Finance Member and began to start a series of prosperity budgets. The hon. Mr. Graham, when presenting the budget for 1925-26, stated that the provincial contribution was about Rs. 348 lakhs but he believed that in the course of that year there would be a remission. Thanks to the good work that the hon. Sir Thomas Moir did in his previous birth as the representative of Madras in the Legislative Assembly he was born in the Madras Cabinet, I should say, with a silver spoon in his mouth. But how has this inheritance been spent? Has it been used for launching forth new schemes? I am sorry to state that, so far as my knowledge of the way in which the funds of this Presidency have been utilized during the past five years goes, it has been more an attempt to keep the happy family together. There was enough money to go round. Each Member of the Cabinet was satisfied so long as he had sufficient funds to spend on his department. There was no attempt to co-ordinate all the proposals and launch forth on a big scheme which will have a permanent effect on the prosperity of this Province. (Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabhapati Mudaliyar: Hear, hear.)

" It is the land tax that pays perhaps the highest revenue to our coffers. When provincial contributions were abolished, what was the relief given to the poor agriculturist? Did the Government of Madras try seriously to put on the statute book a Land Revenue Act? Of course, there was an attempt now and again to put forward a Land Revenue Bill, but I understand that the Government of Madras in obedience to a mandate of the Government of India were not really able to give effect to their intentions, if any, to give us a good Land Revenue Act. If the Land Revenue Bill was not put on the statute book, it is not the fault of the Members of the Legislative Council, and the hon. the Finance Member, I think, is not justified in giving us a warning about our future. He had the fortunes of our province in his hands for five years. There was sufficient money but how was it spent? Was it spent with an eye to the future development of the province? As I said at the

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beginning, it was merely an attempt to dole out moneys to the various departments. The hon. the Finance Member himself in the concluding portion of his speech has stated:

'Temporary affluence and accumulated balances have got their disadvantages. There has been a tendency in many departments to make hay while the sun shines and to regard themselves as having no concern with financial considerations, to resent being reminded of them, and to spend money upon the ornamentation of their administrative facade before the foundations of the main buildings are completed.'

"Who is to blame for this deplorable state of things? There is no good calling the heads of departments to task. It is the fault of the Madras Government in not laying out a co-ordinated plan and then asking the heads of departments to carry out that plan. The hon. the Finance Member has said 'At any rate during the last five years, the Finance Department has provided departments with more money than they could spend'. Why have they provided more money? It is because they had more money in their coffers and did not know how to spend that money. I thought the Government would have at least tried to give back to the payer of the land-tax something by way of rebate. An attempt could have been made to soften the rigours of the executive orders regarding settlement. The hon. the Finance Member deplores the fact that the land revenue is going to become stagnant. The Legislative Council in this matter has really got a duty to do to the tax-payers, and it is well that the Legislative Council has tried to put a check on this alarmingly increasing revenue from land-tax. Did the Government at least try to give back the money in the form of amenities to the poor agriculturists? It would have been an easy thing to abolish the tolls. No such attempt seems to have been made. It is only after the rich motorist has come into prominence that the abolition of the tolls has become a live question. When the poor agriculturist was paying tolls for short distances nobody cared for his trouble. Even now I am informed the poor agriculturist is not to be benefited very much.

"Sir, what has the Government done to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. The hon. the Minister for Development stated the other day, in reply to a question put by one of the hon. Members of this House, that the results obtained on experiments with regard to manures has not been published because the language is technical and the poor peasant may not be able to understand. What is the good of having results which are not published? I assure the hon. the Minister for Development that the poor peasant with all his poverty will still be able to understand the pamphlets if they are issued and if the Government is really anxious to help the poor ryot."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member has exceeded his time limit."

* Mr. T. S. RAMASWAMI AYYAR:—"If the hon. the President . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member should try to finish his speech in a minute or two."

* Mr. T. S. RAMASWAMI AYYAR:—"As regards the question of excise, there has been no bold policy put forward for total prohibition. The hon. the Minister for Excise, I am afraid, is only tinkering with the problem and his work is more in the nature of window-dressing. There is no good claiming

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credit for his anti-drink propaganda when the excise revenue along with consumption of drink is really going up. The hon. the Finance Member himself admitted that the increase in excise revenue is due to larger consumption of country spirit and toddy and also to increased rentals. If that is the state of things, I cannot understand how this policy is working for the good of the country.

"As I said at the outset, the last five years of dyarchic Government have only evolved a drifting policy as regards the expenditure of our flushed finances. I hope that at least in the future there will be an attempt to spend the amount for the agricultural classes who pay the larger taxes.

"I wish to conclude my remarks by saying that the hon. the Finance Member was not justified in giving us this warning which he has been repeating every year about our future. The warning has become a need because our finances have not been well spent during the past few years."

* Mr. J. A. Davis :—"Mr. President, Sir, as the single representative of the Anglo-Indian community in this Council it is unfortunate that I am allowed only ten minutes, and must therefore make the best of it. I must thank the hon. Sir Mahomed Usman, who has been a genuine friend to the Anglo-Indian community for the past five years. His term of office, during which he has been in charge of the Anglo-Indian and European Education portfolio, will go down to posterity as the term during which free education to poor Anglo-Indian girls was introduced, starting with an expenditure of Rs. 44,000 in the current year, with a more liberal contribution for the next year, and the consequent annual increase that must naturally be entailed in this connexion. This is not all. His contribution towards buildings for European and Anglo-Indian school will stand out as a period of most liberal treatment to our schools. And, Sir, our thanks are due to him for he has not only repeated the grant this year but has increased it. In rendering my thanks to him I must say that I regret that I will not be able to continue to thank him in future for his continued help to the Anglo-Indian community, as the period of office soon ends.

"I must now come to the Development Department, regards which
11-15 a.m. I have a very sad tale to tell. So far as the Nilgiris are concerned, I would have wished that this department does not exist. In a country where agriculture is going forward day by day what has the department been responsible for during the year? The operations of the Veterinary department have been held up by the department as first-class serum was not obtainable throughout the year. As cattle-owners have to face the ravages of rinderpest no one now will dare to purchase imported cattle. It is not that the matter has not been represented to the Minister. I have time and again put the matter before him and when I did so, I was promised that an institute would be started in Coonoor and first-class serum made available. Now, I understand, Sir, that there is no provision in this budget for the institute and we are to be exposed to the ravages of rinderpest for another year. I appeal to the Minister even at this stage to put an end to this most unsatisfactory state of affairs in the Veterinary department. Then, Sir, what has been the position of the building societies? Take Ootacamund for example, the Minister has put in officers who have treated a most responsible body of directors with little consideration. There was an allotment of Rs. 50,000 last year and the Municipal Council and the society had put up a most valuable

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scheme. What has happened? Papers have been held over for nine months. What is going to happen now? The whole grant is going to lapse and we have not been able to put up a single building in spite of our representation to the Minister. Time and again I have represented this matter to the Minister and it is a most deplorable state of things that a society should be brought to a standstill in this manner. Then, Sir, the hon. Sir Mahomed Usman was so reasonable as to allot a sum of Rs. 17,000 to pay all the dues of the Todas. What has happened? The department has neither advanced money nor helped the agricultural section of these people with the result, I fear, that the benefits of the amount will be lost.

" To go from the Agricultural to the Medical department, Sir, I have to tender my thanks to the Medical Minister for the small mercies in the matter of giving us a guarantee in respect of a certain number of Anglo-Indian nurses and that there would be a limit to the importation of European nurses. He has hardly tried to keep his promise. Last week two more nursing sisters have been imported. Surely Anglo-Indian women would be the best fitted for the work as they know the people and the habits of Indian mothers and their children. In the name of Indianization I appeal to the Minister to put a stop to this importation of European nurses which is depriving Anglo-Indians and of their just claim in the nursing service.

" As regards prohibition, Sir, I do not know whether to congratulate or not the hon. Minister for allotting five lakhs for propaganda work this year in furtherance to the anti-drink campaign. Excise revenue is going up by leaps and bounds and whether propaganda in the end is going to have any effect or not I cannot say. The fact remains that the shops on the Nilgiris have fetched a higher figure.

" So far as my community is concerned I am thankful for consideration shown in the matter of Anglo-Indian nursing and education. So far as the Development Department is concerned I have only to record a year of retrogression. If things do not improve the department might well be scrapped."

* Mr. J. A. Saldanha :—" Mr. President, Sir, I am at a loss to know where to begin and how to end my criticisms. (Laughter.) I feel that the House has turned into a mutual admiration society as could be seen from the trend of the closing speeches during the third reading of the Bills. There is, I am afraid, hardly any opposition from what is called the opposition benches except the few on the last benches. I should be very glad to see any real, practical and constructive criticism which the opposition is entitled to put forth is forthcoming. I have got grave doubts about it.

" The hon. Sir Thomas Moir has placed before us a very lucid budget but with warnings as to the future. I am sorry that he will not be with us under the new reforms to lay his axe to the very root in the proper manner as this House will be in a position to do. The points, Sir, which should be borne in mind in the future and which are overlooked in preparing a budget are these. It is forgotten that in the administration of India 'India first' must be the maxim and not 'India last' as it is practised for a whole century in preparing budget estimates and spending Indian money. Somehow there is a lurking idea that the money spent comes from the heavens or from the British Isles. Every pie that is spent in India or Britain or other foreign countries on behalf of India comes from the very poor and the poorest of people in the world. Hence, Sir, we have got as a result of this policy a top

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heavy department with a very narrow base. It is forgotten, Sir, that our Ministers exist for the people and not for the party primarily. Party interests dominate the creation of appointments, nominations and much of the other expenditure. Otherwise we cannot account for the fact that whereas hardly a lakh of rupees can be assigned to the anti-malarial propaganda, 5 lakhs are budgeted for the coming year for the carrying on of the anti-drink propaganda. Any member of this Council or anybody else, here or in any part of the world, will not find a Government carrying on an anti-drink propaganda at its own cost. It is a part of a religious or social movement in which large sums are spent by temperance societies in America, England or elsewhere. Neither in England nor in the United States of America or in any other State that stands for the total prohibition has the State spent a pie for the anti-drink propaganda. Temperance or anti-drink propaganda should be carried on by religious or social organizations, and if necessary Government might give them aid. Sir, God helps those who help themselves. Government ought to help those who help themselves. If anti-drink propaganda cannot be carried on by religious societies or social bodies, it is a wonder why Government should start these societies. The only conclusion at which we can arrive at for this absurd state of cart-before-the-horse movement is that it is, as is suspected, a party movement and a party organization for electioneering purposes. I am sure that some of the Members of the Legislative Council sitting on the ministerialist side will find in these district leagues very powerful aids in the next election. I am told that an offer made by the South Kanara Anti-Drink League to the Catholic temperance organizations was treated with contempt because the holy priest who is leading that movement saw in it nothing but a party organization for party purposes and not at all for anti-drink purposes. Whatever the parties might have done in South Kanara in the interests of the anti-drink propaganda the principle or policy of the grant is altogether wrong and fundamentally wrong. Government should not start and finance these societies and may truly aid them if necessary.

11-30 a.m. "I should press once more, Sir, that the interests of the masses should always be safeguarded even in preference to those high officials. I should bring to the notice of this House the inadequacy of the accommodation that is being made for the tuberculosis patients. This is a most dangerous disease and even near blood relations dread to go near a man suffering from that disease. I ask, Sir, what are all the amenities that are now being afforded to the tuberculosis patient. He is spurned by society and packed up in hospitals where the disease is allowed to strike root in one who had come for treatment, being only in the initial stages, but finds himself put to suffering the more both physically and mentally by his propinquity to people suffering from the advanced stages of the disease. The patients free from tuberculosis, but suffering from other complaints, and lying in the neighbouring wards are also in danger of infection. I hope to have further opportunity to speak on this subject."

* Mr. H. B. Ari Gowder :—" Mr. President, Sir, it seems to me that the convention of congratulating a Finance Member for presenting the kind of budget that we have does not go well with the amount of criticism by which it is preceded and that by which it is followed. If I thank Sir Thomas Moir, it is not for the budget estimate that he has prepared but for his sympathy and sincerity. In the same spirit he would have addressed himself to the

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preparation of a more acceptable budget if he had been asked to do it under more favourable circumstances.

"The present budget shows a large increase of revenue derived from taxing and over-taxing a few people who are engaged in useful works and the expenditure side of it shows that a large portion of this revenue is spent on large establishments which are doing nothing but enforcing the payment of these taxes. That is not the kind of budget that we should like to have. Take, Sir, the case of the Forest Department. It is high time that that department is closed down. I hope it will be closed down sooner or later, the sooner the better, for it is breeding discontent which is felt very much in the villages. Then there is the Revenue Department a part of which also may be abolished. The Collectorates, for instance, are very costly and are no longer necessary. They have had their day and it is time that they go, leaving the collection of land revenue to the local bodies themselves.

"Coming to the administration of justice, Sir, I think the present system requires a radical change. It is very costly and ruinous. Take any case. Here are two contending parties determined to misrepresent facts, because it pays them to do so. Their mischief is aided and abetted by a third party of middle men called vakils. Then comes the policeman into the bargain and confounds everybody. There sits the judge feeling certainly doubtful till in the end he delivers himself of a judgment of which he is 50 per cent uncertain. That is not the kind of justice we should like to have. The best fitted authorities to judge any case are those who know the details of the facts best, because all cases are matters of facts. I am sure the panchayats are the most suitable bodies to do it. Even as regards inter-religious and inter-racial disputes, it is very easy to appoint tribunals or courts of arbitrators which will deal with the cases very effectively.

"I shall come to the Local Self-Government before I deal with the vexed question of Excise policy. It is true that the new enactments are an improvement upon the old ones. But, I am afraid, they are still based on the same postulate that there is more common-sense and wisdom in the Secretariat than in the districts, but I think, the reverse is the case. The interference of the Local Government must be on the lines of direction and co-ordination and not of control.

"Then, Sir, the other subject of the Chief Minister's portfolio to which I should presently come is Education. I wish to draw the attention of the Chief Minister to what is known as religious instruction to the Hindu boys in schools. I understand that it is optional. Why? If it is desirable, it should be made compulsory; if not, let it be prohibited altogether. As it is, some of the teachers are indulging in talking all sorts of things to pupils. So much so one of the other teachers might well be believed to have exclaimed to his pupils that if the Hindus had only believed in God, they would not have been subjected to foreign domination and all that it means, for a thousand years now. Whatever it is, I wish a text is written in easy clear language embodying the highest idea of God, which is the same for all religions. It might be set out in that text that the grotesque images, imageries and abominable practices have had their genesis in the dreams, if dreams they were, of the underfed or overfed ancient lunatics who had gone to stupor under the influence of ganja, and that therefore these things have as little to do with Hinduism as with any other religion. I believe in that text to be capable of bringing all the religions nearer to one another.

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"Another suggestion of minor importance is that one of the languages of South India may be taught as a common language for this province and when Hindi or Hindustani is made the common language for the whole of India, that language also may be learnt. This, I hope, will bring about a better understanding of various castes.

"Coming to the question of Excise on which there is so much of literature extant, I find two objections often raised. The one is that in case prohibition is adopted the present strength of excise staff will have to be increased manifold. I wish that those officials who raise this bogey clear out of their places quickly. We want none of the staff. Given some powers our people with or without the help of the police will stamp out every thing illicit. That is, what used to be the case before the British came to India. The second objection is based on the loss of revenue. We, the prohibitionists, are amused as often as this objection is raised. I believe it was raised when the revenue of the province was thirteen crores; and now it is eighteen crores I will not be surprised if it is going to be raised when the total revenue rises to 23 crores. Apart from this, we are at least as anxious as the officials, that we should have more funds available for all kinds of ameliorative schemes. That is, exactly the reason why we want prohibition; because under prohibition we expect more funds. As it is, the consuming community gives five crores to the Government. Then there is the cost of spirits, the profit of the vendor, the loss over litigation incidental to consumption, etc. All these amounts, put together, can be conservatively computed at about thirty crores. A large portion of this huge amount will still be available to the Government, while the rest will be available to the governed. I assure the Government that under prohibition not only the deficit which is so much dreaded will be quickly made up, but also that the total revenue of the province will rise more rapidly than before."

* Khan Bahadur S. K. ABDUL RAZACK SAHIB Bahadur :—"Mr. President, Sir, the budget before us is unfortunately a deficit one. I venture to think that it is so because the hon. the Finance Member on account of his recent illness was not able to tap fully all the resources and effect retrenchments to the required extent. The discussion on the budget gives us an opportunity not only to look into the figures placed before us but also to make general observations on the way administration is carried on in the several departments.

"Taking first the Public Department, I have to say that I cannot at all congratulate the Government so far as their dealings with my community are concerned. Perhaps it is their belief that they can at all times afford to ignore or neglect the claims of my community to a share of the loaves and fishes of office. At the meeting in 1928, when Sir John Simon was witnessing our proceedings, I said in what now seems to me to be a prophetic mood, that the few Muslims who then occupied high offices would be reverted the moment the Simon Commission left India. That forecast has unfortunately
11-45 a.m. proved true. We had two Muhammadan Collectors. At present there are none. But, I hear one will be appointed in the near future. I do not know if even this which is given very grudgingly will be for long. I hope that on a former occasion when I referred to the paucity of Muslims in the High Court Bench and in the Small Cause Court, Government immediately posted Mr. Quiraishi Sahib to the Small Cause Court, but have now taken him back. Time after time, when the post of an Assistant

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Secretary to the Revenue Board fell vacant, we fondly hoped that a Muslim will be appointed, but on each occasion we were sadly disappointed. On the top of these, we hear that a non-Muslim will succeed the Muslim Executive Councillor. If this happens, there will be no Muslim representation and no Muslim voice in the Cabinet, and this will be the crowning infamy to the series of nefarious instances in which my community has been wilfully victimised and its claims brutally brushed aside. It is therefore my painful duty to sound a note of warning. Mr. Gandhi has already raised the flag of civil disobedience, and it is with very great difficulty that we are holding back the impatient and discontented Muslims of our community from joining hands with the non-co-operators (Hear, hear). But we cannot do this long, unless the Government respects our feelings and recognizes our reasonable aspirations for a legitimate share in the Government of this Presidency. Hope deferred breeds discontent, and the Government will be making a sad and pitiable mistake if they rely on the apparent differences of opinion among the Muslim Members of this Council. For, I may say it with all the emphasis that I can command that when the Muslims are attacked they will rise as one man and may even go to foolish and foolhardy lengths in their fury. In the interests of the country and of the people, such a contingency should be averted.

"The hon. the Revenue Member who is reputed to have a soft corner for the Muslims will, I trust, dispense justice to us in the years to come. In the Judicial Department, more than any other, our claims are overlooked, and I would therefore appeal to the hon. the Law Member to deal fairly with us."

* Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar :—" Mr. President, Sir, the hon. the Finance Member has to be congratulated on this last of a series of seemingly prosperous budgets, which he has presented to this Council. As usual, he has given a very careful analysis of the financial situation, has frankly and fully stated the data, facts and figures on which his conclusions are based. He has also raised certain problems—and gone fully into some of them—which the Council will have to face in future. The expenditure, he says, has increased by Rs. 386 lakhs and has exceeded by Rs. 38 lakhs the provincial contribution of Rs. 348 lakhs. The revenue has increased only by Rs. 184·68 lakhs. He asks whether, of the two main sources of revenue, Land Revenue shall be subject to stagnation and the other, namely, Excise Revenue, be so diminished and undermined as to require substituted taxation to replace the revenue thus lost. And, substituted taxation, he says, will fall mainly upon agriculture. Therefore, additional taxation, it is clear, is plainly hinted as the only way possible in the future to fill up the gap in our revenues.

"I must, in the first place, point out that the agriculturist has not a broad and capacious back to bear every kind of burden that can be imposed upon him. I think his has already become the proverbial camel's back which the slightest or the most trifling additional taxation will prove to be last straw to break completely. Sir, resettlement rates are being collected. It was confidently expected that the remission of provincial contributions would go a great way towards relieving this burden. That was not done, and, what is worse, the very data of rising prices which are adduced as a justification for resettlements and resettlement rates have completely vanished this year, when, in the southern districts, the price of paddy has been reduced

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to Rs. 2 from Rs. 4, while the cost of labour, on the other hand, owing to its scarcity and dearness, and the cost of agricultural operations have mounted up beyond all previous experience. It is not merely a gamble in rainfall; it is not merely the vagaries of seasons and monsoons, the havoc wrought by floods and cyclones, by rinderpest and the agricultural insect pests that constitute the dangers to which the poor agriculturist is exposed. Economic factors, the law of supply and demand, the law of diminishing returns and fluctuations in prices, and the reactions in money values are not without their effect on the economic condition, on the taxable capacity of the agriculturist. As matters stand, whatever may happen to reduce his income, to prejudicially affect his taxable capacity, he has to find the money to pay these resettlement rates. He is already in a chronic state of indebtedness. The recent legislation has increased the compulsory land-cess to eighteen pies in the rupee. If, on the top of all that, he has to bear the burden of substituted taxation, that would be the veritable killing of the goose which lays the golden egg. It is doubtful whether the great irrigation scheme in the Tanjore district, by bringing large tracts of dry area under paddy cultivation and increasing the supply of paddy will prove of real benefit to agriculturists who have hitherto been raising crops like groundnut and cotton which possess a relatively greater commercial value. It is nevertheless desirable that there should be a reduction in the consumption of alcoholic drinks, a reduction in the number of shops. For, the one thing, which in the opinion of both the wets and drys prohibition has achieved in the United States, is the difficulty experienced by the average citizen to procure liquor, and the position to which he is thus reduced of making a virtue of necessity and of abstaining from liquor under stress of circumstance. But how are we to make up for this loss of revenue? This leads me to the second point.

"It cannot be said that all possible ways and means have been tried of cutting down expenditure and of effecting internal economics and actual savings. To give one example, the expenditure on education is said to be immense. We are told that large improvements have been made in buildings, in the equipment and on the staff of our secondary schools and colleges. But is it a thing to be proud of, to point to three Universities in our Presidency and to those improvements in secondary schools and colleges when side by side we are told that the large expenditure on elementary education is a very questionable thing, is of questionable value, to use the very words? Does this not show that we have been building from the top downwards, that the foundations have not been broad-based and deep? Does it not show that we have been ornamenting our facades and indulging in frills and flowers to the neglect of the bare essentials? It is a melancholy fact to hear, and that after nine years' working of the Reforms, that the problem of elementary education is being still studied, and that a policy has to be devised by which the large expenditure on elementary education can be fully justified. A very tragic situation indeed.

"Thirdly, Sir, I do not think that a very serious endeavour had been made to reduce the cost of administration, the cost of the different services. It is true expenditure has increased by 386 lakhs, exceeding by 38 lakhs the provincial contribution of 348 lakhs. As for the remission of provincial contribution which ought to have gone in the bulk, in the aggregate, to the reduction of our debt and to the swelling of our actual savings, all that has

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been very nearly absorbed, to meet the different demands and a gloomy forecast is given of the future. I think the future is not so dark. I, for one, am confident of a better future in spite of the heritage which we are leaving to the future Council and which is characterised a *damnosa hereditas*. I think the hon. the Ministers will have been sheltering themselves too much under the protecting wings of the Reserved half, escaping the limelight, diverting the odium on to their colleagues of the Reserved half. But when the new reforms shall have been introduced vesting in them full responsibility and when they become directly responsible to the Council and to their electorate, they will have to pass through an ordeal of fire, and there will be no lack of incentive to carefully budget and to see that expenditure and revenue are scrupulously balanced, and that every rupee is stretched as far as it can be made to go. Therefore, Sir, I think in the near future, with greater care and with proper policies framed and the ground carefully prepared for every financial project, it must be found possible to meet all demands, even to cut down the expenditure of the new political machinery, beginning if possible with the reduction of the salaries of the Ministers themselves without having recourse to any additional taxation and without any increase, at any rate, in the burdens pressing hard on the already over-burdened agriculturists."

* Khan Sahib K. ABDUL HYE SAHIB Bahadur:—" Mr. President, Sir, I join the chorus of congratulations to the hon. the Finance Member for the successful budget which he has presented to us. While doing so, Sir, I wish to make a few general observations in regard to certain departments administered by the Members of Government.

" Taking first the Education department, I have to remark that the condition of this department is no better than a see-saw. The present arrangement of two grades of inspecting officers which they are now having is entirely inefficient, and it is not at all conducive to good work. The District Educational Officer, for instance, who is the head of the district in the Education department, has got too much work to do. He is very much absorbed with secondary education, and he cannot give his full attention to elementary education, which is left in the lurch.

" The best thing would be to absorb these ranges with the head-quarter office where all officers would assemble every month and they should be sent into the district by turns to inspect the schools. This kind of reform, I am sure, will greatly reduce expenditure on the establishment of ranges. 12 noon.

" As regards the question of appointments in this department, I have to remark, Sir, that there does not seem to be any hard-and-fast rule. A few months ago two officers were promoted to the Madras Educational Service who were not L.T's. but when other men wanted similar recognition they were told that they were not L.Ts. Surely, Sir, these things indicate that the policy of Government is 'Show the man, I will show the law.'

" Coming to the administration of local boards, I have got very little to say, but I have to make one or two observations on the Local Boards Act and the District Municipalities Act recently passed by this House. These measures are not looked upon by the Mussalmans and the depressed classes people as a blessing. The abolition of nominations and the introduction of the system of reservation of seats are very serious handicaps to us. We are completely thrown on the mercy of the majority community. They can now manipulate

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things in any manner they like. They will hereafter put up for elections their own men who will subscribe to their political creed. This will mean that all the deserving people will be shut out and only those who have the support of the majority community will be returned. It will be clear from this, Sir, that only a system of communal representation would save us and safeguard the interests of the minority communities. Whatever might be said about this system, whatever defects it may have politically, I have to say, Sir, that it is the only thing which can safeguard the interests of the minority communities and that it is the only thing essential for our very existence. Therefore, unless and until the electorate is educated sufficiently in politics to treat all communities alike, it is a serious blunder. I hope, Sir, that, if not now, at a later stage at least, the Acts will be amended and the original position restored.

"Coming now to the Veterinary department administered by my hon. Friend the Minister for Development, I have to point out that in the whole of the Presidency there is not even one single Mussalman as a District Veterinary Surgeon. I want the hon. the Minister to verify this and at an early date, do something for the Mussalmans in his department.

"Regarding the Police department under the administration of the hon. Sir Mahomed Usman, I have to say that the officers do not get full justice compared with the officers of the Revenue department in the matter of the annual increments. Sir, a gazetted officer in the Revenue department gets Rs. 40 by way of increment every year whereas a gazetted officer in the Police department gets only Rs. 20. I do not understand the reason for this differential treatment. Does it mean that an officer in the Police department is inferior to an officer in the Revenue department? If he is not, I appeal to the hon. the Home Member to put a strong fight with his Colleagues and look to the dignity of the officers of the department on whose head he sits. He should see that these officers are treated on a par in the matter of annual increments with the officers of other departments. With these observations, I resume my seat."

*Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to congratulate the hon. Sir Thomas Moir, the Finance Member, for having placed before us a lucid budget.

"Sir, his fears are that of the three sources of revenue, stamps show a tendency to increase—a slight tendency, land revenue inclines towards stagnation and excise threatens to disappear. Sir, I learn that millions of acres of our lands cultivable, are not being cultivated. I know that many of our rivers at flood time are wasting their waters into the sea. If our Government takes the trouble to deepen these rivers a little—most of them are silted up and are inundating the neighbourhood at the time of floods—and connect them with a net-work of canals and take on hand some irrigation projects like the Sangameswaram one, our revenue from agriculture will be greatly increased.

"Next, as regards the excise revenue, our attitude is that it must disappear. We are for prohibition and not for temperance merely. If you take into consideration the improvements suggested for increasing the revenue from agriculture and prevent the labourers, the real producers of wealth, from the drinking and its devitalising effects, they will work more, they will produce

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more and thus improve the economic condition of the Presidency generally, and this will compensate the loss of excise revenue. I learn some of the labourers in America have become rich after prohibition.

"Sir, five lakhs have been set apart for propaganda work. It is intended by our Government that the influential leaders of all parties should put their heads together in this matter. But I am sorry it is not being done now. It will not be a surprise to me, if these temperance boards are converted into political propaganda ones. I hope the hon. Minister will take note of it. In this connexion, I may say, Sir, that if he allows toddy shops to be closed on all Sundays and holidays, the effect produced will be of much greater propaganda than, what would be possible to do with this sum of five lakhs.

"I next come to one of the spending items, *viz.*, the Intelligence portion of the Police department of the Government. Sir, fortunately for us, in the city we have got Mr. Cunningham as Commissioner of Police in the city, and he ought to be congratulated for so ably guiding the traffic problem. Also in the matter of administration, I can vouchsafe that justice and not prestige is his chief concern. Coming to the Intelligence department, there are rumours that corruption is rampant in certain quarters. I hope the Intelligence department are there to communicate cases of corruption to the Government so that they may be warned against appointing such corrupt persons to positions of trust and honour under the Government, or on public bodies, so that the heading of a chapter in Scott's Kenilworth 'a Scoundrel Knighted' be not repeated under the Madras Government. It is the Intelligence department of the police that has to attend to this. I am glad that the police and the judicial portfolio are now separated. I was advocating it when I was in this Council last time, and I am glad to see this separation effected. I request the Member in charge of the judicial fortfolio to see that all magistrates and judges are requested not to convict a person on the evidence of policemen alone. When the policeman is the prosecutor, action taken against a person on the evidence of the police alone has caused any amount of hardship and, in some cases, grave injustice.

"Sir, I understand that the Madras Government wants to have an ante-natal department opened in Women and Children Hospital, Madras. I request the hon. Minister to see that only lady doctors are appointed for this purpose. It is a woman's work, and therefore, it is a lady doctor that should be appointed. She may not possess high qualifications, but she should have enough of experience in this line, and should be able to win the confidence of the people. Though the Government Maternity Hospital in the city is a first rate one, the full advantage is not being availed of by the people, on account of want of sufficient lady doctors in it. In the hospital, there is most probably only one lady doctor. I hope under the circumstances, the hon. Minister will take care to see that a number of lady doctors are appointed as surgeons and assistant surgeons there.

"As regards infectious diseases, I wish that the Minister should appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to go into the question and report. He should then proceed upon the report and not throw it aside as is done sometimes in our Government with regard to various reports of committees appointed. I hope that in this case at least the Minister will appoint a committee and take action on the report thereof.

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" Coming next to the question of pensions, I wish to say just a few words. It is an implied contract that an officer serving the Government for a pensionable period should be given pension and he is getting it till his death even if he lives very long. That is, every man who serves the Government while doing so earns not only his monthly salary but also his pension. But even if a person, after serving the Government for a number of years dies suddenly just before he retires, his family is left without any support. Sir, some arrangement should be made as in Pondichery and in the States of Hyderabad and Mysore, by which their dependants can be given a pension for a number of years or a sufficient gratuity. Sir, in the temporary establishment of the Survey department the pension system is not in vogue. I know of a person who after serving in that department for 47 years is left without any support and that family is reduced to a condition of starvation. There are hard cases and something should be done to relieve their misery.

" Now I shall say a few words, about the Indian School of Medicine. It is a pity that the Government has created a qualified body of medical men but have not had them registered and thus given them the status they deserve.

" The department of Indian Medicine requires a medical stores. Dispensaries and hospitals are opened, but the medicines are not available. The medicines are costly, manufacturing of them takes a long time ; so, large sums for these purposes should be provided for.

" I have to say, in this connexion, one word about the Text-book Committee. It is necessary that the committee sitting should be allowed to continue its good work till they are able to produce useful text-books.

" Now, Sir, it is my pleasant duty to say a few words about our retiring Finance Member. Sir, I have known the hon. Sir Thomas Moir ever since he was Private Secretary to Lord Pentland. He belongs to that band of Britishers like Sir Alexander Cardew, Mr. Gillman, Mr. Couchman Mr. Stokes, Mr. Davidson, and our present Revenue Member, who were in a way responsible for the amelioration of our masses. I distinctly remember even now the impetus given by the hon. Sir Alexander Cardew, and Sir Thomas Moir to the mass movements. Mr. President, the city owes a deep debt of gratitude to Sir Thomas Moir for having been mostly responsible for the City Tenants' Protection Bill, and thus having saved thousands of families in Madras. He is leaving us to enjoy complete peace and happiness in his native land. But the people in Madras will ever remember his simplicity, his sincerity, his sympathy, his courtesy, his ability and his eloquence. May God give him long life and perfect health."

12-15 p.m. * Rao Sahib V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI :—" I rise to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for the very clear statement of the finances of this Presidency. I do not think the present budget is made to meet the growing need in the land. There is a move for Dominion Status, and the existence of the depressed classes in India, especially in this Province, appears to be an eye-sore, but I do not think that proper allotments have been made for the uplift of the depressed classes in a manner that they may take equal part in the future administration of the land. The other day when we were discussing the two important Bills on the floor of this House some members from the depressed class group spoke about the necessity of having separate electorate, but unfortunately the House was not in a mood to take their word. Now, Sir, I find that very large allotments have been made for University education.

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At a time when our land is suffering from the unemployment disease, I do not know how Government are going to find work for those people who come out of the colleges after finishing their University education. Another thing is that there is a growing feeling in the country that very soon adult franchise must be extended to all people. I am one of those who believe that universal education must precede adult franchise. Where is the money for it? I do not think that a large amount has been allotted for compulsory education in any of the districts of our Presidency. From the observations made in his speech by the hon. the Finance Member, I find that both the Public Health and Civil Works Departments have not been able to utilize all the money that were set aside for them during the current official year. It is a very sad picture for us to see the Public Health Department surrendering a lot of money year after year without being able to spend it. I have pointed out time and again the greatest difficulties that my community people have been exposed to in villages for want of proper sanitation and medical relief, and if a department like the Public Health Department were to return large amounts of money, where is the solution for our uplift?'

"Now coming to the Revenue department, I am sorry that proper safeguards are not given to the depressed classes. Some time back Government made certain rules whereby the depressed classes are to be given dharkast lands. What happens now is this: if a man wants to apply for a bit of land, the application has to go to the Revenue Inspector first with a certain piece of information obtained from the village map. Then it goes to the Deputy Tahsildar, then the Tahsildar and then the Collector and so on and so forth. It takes months and perhaps after six months or one year the man gets an order saying that he can start cultivation. I know of cases where after the man has started the work and after the land has been brought under cultivation, there came another order that the land was going to be sold in auction. Unfortunately, the man who tilled the soil could not get it because it was sold to the highest bidder at the auction and the man who tilled it could not pay such a high amount. Apart from this, I may say that application for dharkast is not given due consideration. I know of one instance in my own district where a Hindu missionary gentleman wanted to establish an institution for the depressed classes and he has been worrying himself about a piece of land for the last two years. He applied to the Forest department, the Revenue department and so on. He has been chucked from post to pillar and pillar to post and after all he has not been able to get any solution from the Government.

"Now coming to the Labour department, the portfolio handled at present by the hon. Sir Mahomed Usman Sahib Bahadur, I have very great pleasure in congratulating him for what he has been able to do for the uplift of the depressed classes, especially for extending labour activities to two districts and giving grants to Servants of India Society at Pavoor, for a real elevation of the depressed classes. Some time back there was a scheme for reorganization of the Labour department but it has not seen the light of day and I do not know the real reason for it. Now the present Labour Commissioner is loaded with so many functions. He has to attend to labour problems, emigration, workmen's compensation and so many other things. I am afraid that unless some assistance is given to him, either that of a Senior Civilian Officer or that of a man who knows the needs of the depressed classes, a proper solution for

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solving the difficulties of the depressed classes will not be arrived at. Without giving him an assistant as mentioned above, I am afraid they will not be able to extend their activities speedily in Salem and Chittoor districts now brought under Labour department activity. Another thing is that the present labour officers are drawn from the cadre of tahsildars and deputy tahsildars who are wanting in their initiative for granting dharkast and other things. I think Government would be well advised in drawing these labour officers from a higher cadre, say, Deputy Collector or so. That will go a long way to mitigate the difficulties of the depressed classes.

"Coming to the Medical department, I understand there is a move in Ootacamund to start a tuberculosis hospital but that the site chosen does not meet the public point of view. I think even the local municipal council strongly objected to this and I am sure the hon. Minister in charge of the Medical department will make a note of this.

"Coming to the Excise department I am one of those who believe in complete prohibition. The half-hearted schemes that have been started for doing propaganda work will not in the long run be for the solution of our difficulties. As my hon. Friend Mr. Davis pointed out, this year's auction has brought larger income than last year. After all the money comes from the poorer men. I think the scheme of the Government is not so much to be welcomed.

"Now coming to the Development department, the present budget shows that a large number of officials are going to be engaged in the Co-operative department. After all we have been worried by these existing officials and the addition will add to our difficulties in getting loans, etc. Sir, the Land Mortgage Bank has been started after a good deal of agitation and many prominent and responsible gentlemen have been agitating by bringing to the notice of the hon. the Minister for Development, and the several authorities concerned that the operation of the Land Mortgage Bank should be on a territorial basis and not on a communal basis, but to our great disappointment we find that this department is to be for a particular community, and even the depressed classes are not allowed to have anything to do with this Land Mortgage Bank. I hope the hon. Minister for Development will take note of this fact and do the needful to remedy the situation.

"Coming to the Veterinary department I have already shown and explained in this House the great difficulties to which the ryots are exposed by the inadequate protection given to them in case of rinderpest. I am sure the hon. the Minister for Development will also look into this."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I associate myself with my hon. Friend Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar in wishing godspeed, rest and health to the hon. Sir Thomas Moir. I have known him since the time of Lord Pentland, when he was his Private Secretary. But I had known him before as one of those Settlement Officers who had dealt with the ryots fairly and justly. I am certain that, after his settlement in Cuddapah, all other settlements have been invariably marked by more and more increase in the percentage of enhancement; and my impression has always been that he is one of those few civilians who have got a sympathetic understanding of the condition of the ryots and who have known the people very intimately. But one or two of his remarks in his budget speech makes me modify my views

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and these remarks I think Mr. Moir has made because he had long been absent from the districts and has been in charge of the purse-strings of Government in Madras. He says in speaking of the excise revenue 'the ryot as a whole has had more money to save or to spend on his superfluities or luxuries and has spent part of his surplus on alcoholic drinks.' I think this is a very deplorable misconception, and I challenge the Government, the hon. Mr. Moir and the hon. the Revenue Member, to prove this statement. If they would only hold an enquiry into the economic condition of the ryot population, they will see, Sir, most of them are indebted heavily indeed, and they form part of the millions in India who hardly get a full meal a day. They are indebted either to the Circar or to the sowcar. They have no money to spend on luxuries. The excise revenue that Government get is not from the ryots who form only a small percentage of the total drinking population but from the labourers, such as the weavers, the coolies, and other workmen. It is the blood money, largely of these people that swells the coffers of the Government and not that of the ryots. But the ryot is being tempted to take to drinks, because the Government encourage toddy and arrack being transported in big casks and lorries from place to place, and from district to district, where they are not available. If the ryots are left alone, they could not get liquor or fermented toddy. By licensed traffic, intoxicating drinks are offered at their very doors. Heavy lorries are used in transporting toddy, without paying any licence fee to the district board, though they do considerable damage to their roads. The Government are accused of affording all facilities to create taste and contract habits for drinks, in order to increase their drink revenue. If they are serious in their intention to save the people from the drink evil, they should prohibit the transport of toddy and arrack in large quantities to places where they are not procurable. They could then escape from the reproach of being a party in disseminating intoxicating drink havoc which works for the moral and material ruin of the people, and eventually to the danger of the State. This is a serious matter. I may refer to another point 12-30 in this connexion. The subordinates of the Police department also are p.m. spoiled. The hon. Member in charge of the Police portfolio can make enquiries and find out from the District Superintendents of Police and District Magistrates whether this is not a fact. Policemen meet the lorries and the carts laden with toddy or arrack, and they get their tips in full drinks. The only redeeming feature in the present policy of Government is the anti-drink propaganda work they have inaugurated. It began only three months ago and it has done already some good work. The Government sent to the districts magic lanterns only this month. Only one magic lantern was sent to our district of one lakh of population. Twenty-six magic lanterns were sanctioned for all the 26 districts! Vans were promised but they have not come as yet, to go about and do much effective pracharaka work. I emphatically differ from my hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha and others who state that this propaganda policy can do no good. If you want evidence that it has already done some good, you have it from the Excise Commissioner. The Excise Commissioner has already raised a hue and cry that the Government pracharakas have been coercing the people that were going to bid for liquor and toddy shops, and that the auctions had to be postponed in consequence of their coercion. We read in the *Hindu*, Sir, that in Tanjore, Mangalore and some other districts, sales had to be postponed for lack of bidders at any, partly on account of this Government propaganda work. In course of time, it is quite possible to achieve good results from this policy. Religious heads and caste guilds are persuaded

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to bring their influences to bear upon the people to abstain from the demon of drink. The Government make nearly six crores of rupees from excise and yet they have 'the malancholy meanness' to sanction only Rs. 5 lakhs for this good work for the whole Presidency. They must engage more pracharakas, honorary and paid, and spend money in other ways if they are really serious and earnest to work for the prohibition and educate people against the great evil of intoxicating drinks and drugs.

"I would refer to one or two other matters. The Government of India have issued some liberal rules to be adopted by Provincial Governments, on the lines of the English prison system. I hope that due attention will be paid to this matter and that liberal provisions will be made for reforming the prison treatment on more humane and enlightened lines. Political prisoners especially have suffered much, and it is alleged that they have been very much ill-treated. They deserve better consideration.

"There is one other point which I would state to the House. I have been putting questions and wanted to move resolutions and raise a debate on the absurdity of continuing the existence of the sarishtadar-magistrates to save the parties from the trouble and inconvenience of attending their courts. I was not favoured by the ballot. We have been crying hoarse for nearly half a century that there should be separation of the judicial from executive functions, and we don't see any chance of getting it. The Government have appointed stationary magistrates. We contended that such magistrates should not be below the status of a District Munsif. We were not successful in that either. Stationary magistrates are generally recruited from the Revenue department, from clerks, revenue inspectors and such others, and they are not well equipped for the work. But it is worse when the anachronism of sarishtadar-magistrates is perpetuated in 26 taluks. Taluk sarishtadars or head accountants are in charge of the sub-treasury. They have to receive remittances from the villages, and issue rupees to the people during the greater part of the day. Unfortunate parties have to wait outside and then take the chance of their cases being heard after the treasury transactions are over. This practice causes great inconvenience and much humiliation to the people. Such sarishtadars are not paid anything extra for doing magisterial work, and it gives room for corruption. I would suggest a remedy, the abolition of racial distinctions in the Criminal Procedure Code. They have removed racial discrimination in jails now. I think the abolition of racial distinctions will lead to better administration, because our rulers will then become alive to the injustice they are doing to the Indian people. Owing to the combination of executive and judicial functions, tahsildars and deputy collectors have often to order litigants to follow them in their tours, sometimes from one end of the district to the other when jamabandi is in full swing, and people are thus put to enormous trouble, worry and expenditure. Let the sarishtadar-magistrates at least go. Twenty-six such magistrates are being still maintained on the plea that the Government cannot afford to spend more money. They hesitate to incur a recurring expenditure of a lakh or so to substitute stationary sub-magistrates. I have no time to speak on the extravagance of the Government of India or of this Government in some departments. Tax-payers' burden does not weigh then with them. Where the convenience and the personal liberty of the people are concerned, they allow money consideration to deflect them in their plain duty.

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"As regards takavi loans at concession rates, I know that the hon. Mr. Campbell would have allowed the concession rates of interest in famine-affected districts. Rules allowing concessions find a place in the Takavi Manual; but they were not given effect to even in the worst famine-affected districts of Anantapur and Bellary. The Government are collecting arrears of loans with great rigour making people sorry for having taken loans from the Government. Sowcars will give at least more time for the repayment of their loans though they might collect more money. But under the Takavi Rules, tahsildars have to take all possible means of collecting the loans as much as possible if they desire to be made deputy collectors. I am glad to see a note in the memorandum that there is a proposal before the Government to write off all the arrears of interests on takavi loans, so far as Bellary and Anantapur districts are concerned.

"Anantapur is the most unfortunate district in the matter of irrigation. No new irrigation works were ever carried out in this district. All the works of any importance we have at present are of the *pre-British* period; no new works were taken up by this Government, to my knowledge, in the district of Anantapur. Most of the tanks in the Anantapur district are more often than not dry. We have been tantalized by the prospect of Tungabhadra project ever since the time of Lord Curzon. Investigations have been made and a number of committees were appointed; and Government must have spent lakhs of rupees over the Tungabhadra project. And yet there is no immediate prospect of its materializing. My hon. Friend Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar is an expert and has always held that this scheme could be carried, if the Government are bent on carrying it out to save the people from recurring famines and heavy periodical remissions.

"I am reminded of an old story connected with the Muhammad of Ghazni. An old woman complained to the Emperor Muhammad that injustice had been done to her son and she blamed the Emperor for that. Muhammad asked her 'How do you expect me, old woman, to know that your son in some corner of my kingdom was not properly and justly dealt with?' The old woman replied 'My dear Sir, if you cannot see that justice is done to your subjects in every corner of the Empire, you should give up your position as an Emperor.' This story reminds us of the fact that bloated empires make rulers indifferent to the troubles, difficulties and pains of people in a corner like Anantapur. From that very corner they are making a sum of Rs. 14 lakhs from excise and a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs from land revenue. I am therefore tempted to appeal to the hon. the Revenue Member to pay particular attention to the irrigation needs of the district of Anantapur. As regards the Kistna-Tungabhadra project . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member is speaking on a new point now; he has already exceeded the time-limit."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"As I have no time now, with your permission, I propose to give notice of many token motions and speak then on all the subjects." (Laughter)

* Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR :—"Sir, the hon. Sir Thomas Moir has delivered the last of his budget speeches and in doing so, he has reminded us that we are now practically at the end of one era and about to start another era. He has told us that the present financial situation is full of points

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which should arrest the attention of the country and of the representatives of the country in this House. But he does not think it necessary that he should tackle the subject further; he thinks that it is probably the work of the Council that will come into existence after the new reforms, not even of the next Council. He thinks that these anxious questions should be gone into by the Council which will come after the new reforms. That, I think, is only a forcible reminder to us of the somewhat sorry predicament in which we now stand. It is only a reminder that, financially and otherwise, our affairs have been going on drifting in humdrum fashion without any scheme of control which would make it possible to arrange matters in the best manner or so as to suit and further the best interests of the people for whom

12-45 p.m. the annual budgets are made. If really, we had a constitution, to which most of us feel that we have long been entitled, it would not have been possible for an out-going Finance Member to make his speech in such a comparatively irresponsible fashion and to take leave of difficulties, merely mentioning without even formulating them, and leaving it to those that come hereafter to deal with them. It would be the duty of an out-going Finance Member to formulate the difficulties and also to propound solutions. Solutions have not now been attempted. That is only an indication that we have not stepped into our own and that the delay that seems unavoidable between now and the point of time when we should step into our own should be minimised as far as may be, and it must be the endeavour of every member of this House to do his best to minimise that interval of delay. In his speech, the hon. Sir Thomas Moir has frankly confessed that notwithstanding the high quality and the great experience of the watch-dogs in the Finance Department, it has been possible for the other departments to do budgeting in a fairly irresponsible and indefinite fashion. That means that the budget that is annually presented is by no means a true index of the expenditure that is really meant to be incurred or is really incurred in the course of the year for which expenditure is, in anticipation, budgeted. That is a state of affairs which is hardly creditable either to the departments concerned or to the Finance Department. It is a confession which in terms has now been made by the hon. the Finance Member in the last of his speeches. I do not remember that in previous years, this matter was brought out so explicitly by the Finance Member. I do not, at the same time, think that this is a feature, which in any sense, has specially arisen in connexion only with the experience of the last year or the current year. It therefore is really a secret which has not been told in such plain terms before by the Finance Member, though it has existed right through. That again shows how little control in practice this House has upon the annual budgets, notwithstanding the fact that there is a Finance Committee whose services have been acknowledged by the hon. the Finance Member. All this points to the need for a thorough change and goes to emphazise one great point which has been time and again acknowledged by all who have worked this diarchy during these ten years. It is this: that diarchy is no good, that it must go, and that we must have a unified Government consisting of a set of elected Ministers who will act as one unit and who will have the entire power in respect of the Government of this province without any exception whatever in respect of any department or service. Then and only then should we be able to take a comprehensive view not only of the revenues but also of the expenditure and so to make an adjustment between the tax-paying capacity of the tax-payers and the requirements of the people on the whole, so that we can make sound and safe budgets and have an effective control over the services and the departments.

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"Sir, the hon. the Revenue Member has referred, without going into the merits, to the report made by Diwan Bahadur Arogyaswami Mudaliyar's Committee which enquired into the economic conditions of Kistna and Godavari districts . . ."

The hon. Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL :—" I may remind the hon. Member that it was the hon. the Finance Member that referred to it and not the Revenue Member."

* Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR :—" If I said that it was the Revenue Member, then it is wrong. That report is a very forcible reminder to us of the need to lay down the principles of land revenue settlement by legislation. That has been a requirement and desideratum, the urgency whereof has been emphasized in high quarters and yet it has not been possible for the Madras Government to give effect to this very important point. The conclusion that is pointed out by the Finance Member is that if this is the result of an inquiry into the conditions of the best districts, viz., Kistna and Godavari then it follows that with reference to the whole of this Presidency, agricultural conditions and the staying power of the ryot must be taken to be such that there shall not be an increase of land revenue and that even in collecting land revenue at present rates, principles must be definitely reduced into the terms of a statute. The Government would appear to have anticipated an increase of 17 lakhs over these districts in which resettlement was due this year. That shows that except for an inquiry such as this House has made itself responsible for, the resettlements would have gone on and the iniquity would have continued. Now it is good that the Government have. . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member has exceeded the time limit."

* Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR :—" I shall bring my remarks to a close. I wish to make some observations with reference to a matter concerning. . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member will not be justified in beginning a new subject. He will have another opportunity to refer to the other subjects in the detailed budget discussions."

* Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR :—" Then, I will stop with this now."

* Mr. C. GOPALA MENON :—" Sir, this is the fifth budget presented by the hon. Sir Thomas Moir, who controlled the financial destinies of this province. Active, vigilant and well-informed in the matter of financial details, he has won a conspicuous and well-deserved place among the array of the Financial Members who held that office in this province. I know how much the different parties value his devoted services ; and how great the strain has been upon his health, and how unselfishly he has carried out his work. His budget may be styled a carrying-on budget, but if we go deeper into the figures, which he has presented, we will feel convinced that he leaves the province in a position of greater financial solidarity, than he found it in.

" That is due to the release of the provincial contributions, a successful good monsoon, and the acute vigilance, he has exercised over the administrative departments.

" The present Budget leaves us with a heavy revenue balance, after a substantial reduction in our debts, which is a great relief to us and the Government of India, at a time, when Indian credit is low in the foreign

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market. At this juncture we can only wish, the warning given by Sir Thomas Moir to the different heads will be seriously taken to heart in the future to approximate their estimates of revenue and expenditure, so as to avoid the extravagance in estimates resulting in progressive schemes coming to a stand still. His regime is characterized by liberal contributions to the various nation-building departments, and the hon. Ministers must be particularly thankful to him for his timely help which they have received from the Finance Member especially when they stood in such great need of this money, as people's representatives in the Legislative Council.

"Sir, I find that during the last five years, Education has received 1,255 lakhs, Medical 418 lakhs; Public Health 169 lakhs; Agriculture 193 lakhs and Industries 104 lakhs. It also goes to prove that the distribution of expenditure between the reserved and the transferred has been fair, for which the representatives in this House have been agitating. The total increase from 1920–21 to 1928–29 under reserved is 229·50 lakhs and transferred 254·23 lakhs. In the previous quinquennium, the increase was 134·62 lakhs for reserved, and transferred 46·48 lakhs. The debt position is also not alarming, because, after providing for discharging debt we have got 304 lakhs as revenue balances.

1 p.m. "Three important factors to which he has made reference in his speech are with regard to the stagnation in land revenue and reduction in excise and the probable diminution in stamps duty. Of course, the Godavari Economic Enquiry Committee are of opinion that no more resettlement should be undertaken in those districts, and the Finance Member under the circumstances throws the responsibility upon the Legislative Council Members for any future deficit in expenditure. The view of the Committee is that the people are unable to pay any excessive land revenue. As our surpluses are so large we had a surplus revenue for the last five years aggregating to 661 lakhs. Deducting the debts that we have paid, we have a sum of Rs. 305·71 lakhs which is more than enough to meet any deficit; and therefore, I urge that there is no necessity now to increase the rate of land revenue. But that does not mean that the future Legislative Council need not revise the position.

"With regard to the question of temperance propaganda we are now carrying on, a provision of 5 lakhs has been made for the next year. If there is going to be a reduction in the excise revenue by the propaganda that we are now carrying on, then it is essential that we should find out new sources of revenue to replenish our coffers. In other countries they have been able to do this by finding substituted revenue in commerce, trade and industries. It is essential that along with that propaganda we have to find substituted revenue, and it is for the hon. the Minister in charge of excise to find out ways and means by which that could be accomplished.

"With regard to the fall in stamp revenue, I wish to make the suggestion that if a reduction is made in non-judicial stamps the loss in stamp-duty can be made good by creating more negotiable instruments in order to facilitate the transaction of business: and I need not say that the mercantile communities will be only too glad to avail themselves of these, and thus there will be a greater income by the circulation of hundies and bills of exchange.

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"Another reference of the hon. the Finance Member is with regard to the economic depression in the country. He says 'trade appears to be afflicted with a chronic dullness and I see no reason to anticipate an outburst of activity in litigation. . . Trade continues dull and litigation has either decreased or is for smaller values.' There is no doubt that trade is at a stand still at present. Economic depression is so much that trade and industry are in imminent danger of being ruined. Earnings have greatly declined, the purchasing power of the people has been impoverished, the demand for the agricultural produce of the country in foreign markets is so poor; and consequently their taxable capacity has been considerably reduced. The property value has gone down in the city. To sum up, there is shrinkage in trade; and this, in short, is the present economic condition of the country. While all other countries are trying to revive trade and give an impetus to their industry and trade, it is only incumbent on our Government to render help to our traders and industrialists. In addition there is political ferment also in the country . . ."

*The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member has already exceeded the time-limit."

The hon. Member resumed his seat.

*Mr. K. UPPI SAHIB :—"Mr. President, Sir, this is the last budget of the hon. Sir Thomas Moir, and we have seen how lucidly he has placed before the House several problems in his budget speech. Sir, since this is the last occasion when we shall have the company of Sir Thomas Moir, I feel it my duty to offer him my humble tributes for the able and efficient manner in which he has steered the ship of State through the troublous days that he had to face. Sir, I have been in this Council for the last seven years and during this time I have listened with great care and interest to the speeches of the hon. Sir Thomas Moir with profit. Sir, though he has been occupying the Treasury Bench all these years and though I have been in the Opposition, yet I have to confess that he has treated us with courtesy and kindness, and he carried on the fight in quite a sportsmanlike manner. Sir, it has been my pleasant privilege to listen to him on several occasions he raised the tone of debate in this House to a high level when it went down. You may remember, Sir, the occasion, when you were the Leader of the opposition party, you moved an adjournment motion regarding the speech of the then Education Minister, Sir Patro, and you might remember that discussion went down to low level and then our esteemed friend intervened and brought about an agreement honourable to both sides. I quote this only to show how the hon. Sir Thomas Moir has been of great help to us on such occasions. Those qualities are his own. I feel he has throughout been courteous, kind-hearted and had a genuine feeling for the welfare of our country at heart. I hope he will have many more useful years to live.

"Now, Sir, it will not be very long when another hon. Member from the Treasury Bench will be leaving us, and I would be failing in my duty if I did not say a few words about him on this occasion. I am afraid whether I will get another opportunity to review his work. Lest that opportunity should be lost to the House, I take this opportunity to do so. You know, Sir, that he owes his position there mainly on the ground that he is a Muslim: and that as a brother Muslim I feel that I have a right to judge his work. Sir, at the time of his appointment we had high hopes that he would bring about

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a millennium so far as our community is concerned. In those days the sufferings of the Mappillas were indescribable. But what happened? A number of Mappillas, men, innocent women and children were sent out to the Andamans. He may plead that he was not responsible for it. But when the portfolio changed hands, we found a lull and the whole scheme seems practically to have been given up. Again soon after his elevation to the Treasury Bench, we all expected that being a Muslim he would see that a Muslim High Court Judge is appointed in the High Court of Madras. Even in this we were disappointed. Then again take the case of the appointment of Kazi. Sir, we all expected that he would see that the candidate having the support of the general Muslim community will be appointed. But instead of that one of his own dependents, a nonentity was elevated to that holy position and thrust upon the Muslims of this Presidency. That is his legacy. And if the rumour is correct, we understand that he has advised His Excellency that there is no Muslim qualified to succeed him . . . ."

The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MAHOMED USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"On a point of order, Sir, is it in order to refer to the rumour and all this in this connexion ?"

*The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"It is a general liberty to roam about the field of administration in the general debate on budget."

*Mr. K. UPPI SAHIB :—"Now, Sir, it is two years since the portfolio of Police came into his hands. Sir, it is a well-known fact that the zoolum of Special Police in Malabar especially towards the Mappillas is notorious. Mappillas are excluded from that devilish body. However, we all hoped that he would remove this ban on Mappillas. There also we were disappointed. He as a doctor could have done at least this much. Instead of Special Police, he could have changed its name to Anti-Mappilla Police. That would have been a service to the community as it will remind us of the nature of that body.

"Sir, let me now come to the hon. the Chief Minister. Sir, till very recently he was following a fairly impartial policy. But recently some of his acts smack of unfairness and despotism. I am afraid he has taken the role of a judicial officer, besides his executive function in the case of a District Board election dispute in Chirakkal Taluk Board of Malabar; both parties reported the matter to Local Government. Besides that, one party applied to Court to set aside the election. When the matter was pending before a court of law, he went to the extent of setting aside. I do not know how far he was justified in that. I wish to know under what law he acquired the power of interfering with freedom of Judicial Courts.

"Then, Sir, with regard to his educational policy for the last one year somehow or other it has descended from its upward march. The primary education of the Mappillas is in a neglected state; though a good beginning was made some years back, of late, since the last one year nothing has been done, and it seems the hon. Minister has given it up. Though Government have been spending a lot of money for many special things for the Mappillas in the matter of education for the last ten years, i.e., after the rebellion, this Government has not paid any or rather special attention on their education.

"Now, coming to my hon. Friend from Malabar, I see he is absent. Since the portfolio of Jails went into his hands, he seems to have taken action to improve the position of the Mappilla prisoners. We see no more Mappilla

women and children being taken to Andamans, we also see batches after batches of Mappillas being released. These poor people believe some sympathetic person is not at the head. But still I am pained to inform the House there is a set of Mappilla prisoners in the City, who though released from jail have been forced to stay in the City and prohibited from returning to Malabar. They are strangers to this place, they do not know the language of the place, they have no craft except agriculture and they have no capital to start any trade. The allowance given to them is a pittance of 8 rupees. In spite of appeals after appeals to Government to enable them to return to their homes, nothing has been done in that direction. Therefore, if there is any hon. Member of Government in this House who represents the hon. the Law Member, I request him to note these points and deal with them properly."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member has already exceeded the time-limit." 1-15 p.m.

* Swami A. S. SAHAJANANDAM spoke in Tamil as follows :—" **தர்க்காஸ்து.**—உயிர்களுக்கு உணவுதான் முக்கியமானது. அதனைத்தருவது நிலங்களாம். தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களின் நலன்கருதி சில ஆண்டுகளாக அரசாங்கத்தார் தரிசு நிலங்களை ஒதுக்கிவைத்துக் கொடுத்துவருகின்றனர். அதற்காக நன்றிபாராட்டுகிறேன். ஆனால், ஆதிதிராவிடர்கட்கு ஒதுக்கிவைக்கும் நிலங்கள் பெரும்பாலும் ஆறு, மலை, ஓடை, கடல், ஆகாயமாகவிருக்கின்றன. நல்ல நிலங்களை யொதுக்குவதில்லை. நல்ல நிலங்களாகவிருந்தால் ஏலம் போட்டுவிடுகிறார்கள். ஆகவே நிலங்களை யொதுக்கிவைப்பதால் பயனுண்டாகவில்லை. அரசாங்கத்தார் ஒரு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸரை நியமித்து அவர்மூலமாக நல்ல நிலங்களை யொதுக்கிவைத்து அதுவிஷயமாக ஜனங்களிடையே பிரசாரம் செய்துக்கொடுப்பார்களாயின் நலமாகவிருக்கும். இவ்விஷயமாகச் சென்ற ஆண்டுகளிலும் பேசியுள்ளேன். உடனே அதற்கான முயற்சிகளெடுத்துக்கொள்வார்களென்று நம்புகிறேன்.

" **ஜில்லா லேபர் ஆபீஸர்கள்.**—அரசாங்கத்தார் கருணையோடும் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களின் முன்னேற்றங்கருதி தொழிற் கமிஷனர் இலாகாவையேற்படுத்தி அதன்மூலம் இப்பொழுது பல ஜில்லாக்களிலும் முன்னேற்றகாமான வேலைகள் நடந்துவருகின்றன. ஜில்லா லேபர் ஆபீஸர்களில் சிலர் உண்மையான மனுஷாளாயிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் உள்ளபடியே யுழைத்துவருகிறார்கள். சிலர் தங்கள் வேலைக்காகவே செய்துவருகிறார்கள். பாடசாலைகளின் கட்டிட முதலியவை சரியாயில்லை. ஆபீஸர்களுக்கு யோசனைகூற ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் கமிட்டி வேண்டும். அந்தக் கமிட்டி அங்கத்தினர்கள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினராகவேயிருக்கவேண்டும். லோகல் போர்டுகளும் முனிசிபாலிட்டிகளும் எவ்வாறு கமிட்டி அபிப்பிராயத்தின்படி நடைபெறுகின்றனவோ அவ்வாறே லேபர் ஆபீஸ்களும் நடைபெறவேண்டும். இல்லையேல், ஒரு திருஷ்டாந்தம் சொல்லுகிறேன். லேபர் ஸ்கூல் சூபரின்டென்டென்ட் ஒருவர் உபாத்திமார்களை ஆட்டிவைப்பதை யென்னவென்று சொல்லுவேன். கமிட்டியிருந்தால் அதற்கஞ்சி வேலைகள் கிரமமாக நடைபெறும். இது விஷயத்தை மிகவும் கவனிக்கவேண்டுகிறேன்.

“**சுகாதாரம்.**—இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் சுகாதார இலாகாவிற்கு ஏராளமான பணம் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. முன்னேற்றம் பெற்ற வகுப்பினர்க்கே சுகாதாரங்கள் பலிக்கின்றன. கிராமங்களில் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களிருக்குமிடங்கள் மிகவும் அசுத்தமாயிருக்கின்றன. அங்கு எந்த ஹெல்த் ஆபீஸரும் போவதில்லை. எனக்குத்தெரிந்து எந்த சேரிக்கும் ஹெல்த் ஆபீஸர் வரப் பார்க்கவில்லை. ஆகவே ஹெல்த் இலாகாவால் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்களுக்கு யாதொரு நன்மையுமுண்டாகவில்லையென்று நிச்சயமாகவே சொல்லுவேன்.

“**விவசாய இலாகா.**—விவசாய இலாகாவிற்கென ஏராளமான பணம் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. இந்த இலாகாவால் விவசாய உலகத்திற்கு யாதொரு பயனும் ஏற்படவில்லையென்பது நிச்சயம். விவசாய காலேஜ்களில் படித்தவர்கள் இதுவரைக்கும் எங்கேனும் பயிரிடுவதாகப் பார்க்கவில்லை. ஆனால் டிமான்ஸ்ட்ரேட்டர் கிராமவாசிகட்கு போதிக்கிறார்களென்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் எங்கும் பயிரிடுபவர்கள் ஆதிதிராவிடர்களே. இவர்களுக்கு யாரும் பயிரிடும் முறையைக் கற்றுக்கொடுத்ததில்லை. ஆனால் ஷை இலாகாவால் நானூறு முந்நூறு என சம்பளம் பெறுகிறார்களேயொழிய அவர்களால் விவசாயிகளுக்குப் பயனில்லை. ஆதலால் ஷை இலாகாவை அடியோடு ஒழிக்கவேண்டுமென்று வற்புறுத்துகிறேன். அந்த இலாகாவிற்குப் பணம் கொடுக்கவே கூடாதென்பது எனது அபிப்பிராயம்.

“**மத பரிபாலன போர்டு.**—இந்த போர்டை மிகவும் ஆழ்ந்த கருத்தோடும் ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். காரணம் மத சம்பந்தமான ஸ்தாபனங்களும் ஜனங்களின் உரிமைகளும் சரியானபடி பாதுகாப்பதற்கேயாம். அந்தச் சட்டத்தில் இந்து மதத்தை மேற்கொண்டவர்களனைவரும் இந்துக்களே யெனக்கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களும் இந்து மதத்தை மேற்கொண்டவர்களெனக் கருதப்படுவதால் அவர்களும் இந்துக்களே. இவர்களை அரசாங்கத்தார் தேவஸ்தான கமிட்டிகளில் ஓரிடத்திலுங்கூட அங்கத்தினராக நியமிக்கவில்லை. முன்னிருந்த அமைச்சர் கனம் A. அரங்கநாத முதலியாரவர்கள் ஆதிதிராவிடர்களையும் தேவஸ்தான கமிட்டிகளில் அங்கத்தினராக நியமிக்க உத்தேசித்திருந்தார். ஆனால் ஏழை பங்காளரும் ஆதிதிராவிடர்களின் நண்பருமான கனம் டாக்டர் சுப்பராயனவர்கள் ஷை இலாகாவை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டபிறகு ஏதேனும் நடக்குமென எதிர்பார்த்தோம். யானும் நண்பர் ராவ் சாகிப் முனிசாமி பிள்ளையவர்களும் பேசினோம். கனம் முதன் மந்திரியாரவர்கள் யாதொரு நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவில்லை. அவ்வாறு செய்யாததன் காரணம் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு இடந்தரக்கூடாதெனக் கருதுவதே. எல்லா உயிரும் கடவுள் அம்சம் என்பதே என்னுடையதும் நூல்களிலுடையவும் அபிப்பிராயமாகும். கடவுளுக்குச் சமானமான உயிர்களைத் தாழ்த்துமிடங் கோயிலானால் அதனைச் சாதிச்சின்னமென்று ஏன் சொல்லக்கூடாது. மக்களுக்குள் உயர்வு தாழ்வு கற்பிக்குமிடம் கோயில் என்னும் பெயரால் வழங்குமானால் அதனை ஏன் இடிக்கக்கூடாது? செங்கோலுக்குமுன் சங்கீதமா? மக்களை மக்கள் தாழ்

27th February 1930] [Swami A. S. Sahajanandam]

த்தக்கூடாதென அரசாங்கம் கருதுமாயின் ஜனங்கள் எப்போதோ குருட்டுப் பழக்க வழக்கங்களினின்றும் விடுபட்டிருப்பார்கள். ஜனங்களின் குருட்டுப் பழக்க வழக்கங்களை யொழிக்கவேண்டியது அரசாங்கத்தார் கடனாகும். ஆனால் அரசாங்கத்தாராலேயே குருட்டுப் பழக்க வழக்கம் பெருகி ஆதிதிராவிட சமூகத்தின் உரிமைகள் பாழ்படுத்தப்பட்டுவருகின்றன. உதாரணமாக ஈரோடு ஆலயப் பிரவேச வழக்கில் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பைச் சார்ந்த சப் இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் கோயிலுக்குள் போயிருக்கிறார். தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பைச் சார்ந்த வைதியர் தழையறுக்க கோயிலுக்குள் போயுள்ளார். தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்புப் பிட்டர்கள் கோயிலுக்குள் குழாய் ரிப்பேர் வேலை செய்துள்ளார்கள். அதனால் உயர் ஜாதி இந்துக்களுக்கு மனத் தாங்கல் வரவில்லையாம். ஆனால் சுவாமி கும்பிடச் சென்றதால் வருத்தம் வந்துவிட்டதாம். அதற்காக ஒரு அரசாங்க உத்தியோகஸ்தர் சப் மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் தண்டித்தாராம். இதில் என்ன நியாயம் இருக்கிறது. ஒருவருக்கு மனவருத்தம் வருவதால் தண்டிப்பதானால் அரசாங்கம் இருப்பதால் உயர்சாதி இந்துக்களுக்கு மனத் தாங்கலும், உயர்சாதி யிருப்பதால் எங்களுக்கு மனத் தாங்கலும் உண்டாகின்றது. இம்மனத்தாங்கல்களால் யாரை யொழிப்பது? எதிலும் நியாயம் இருக்கவேண்டும். இதில் மூடப்பழக்கவழக்கத்திற்கு இடங்கொடுத்தது அரசாங்கந்தானே? அதனால் ஆதிதிராவிடர்களின் உரிமை பாதிக்கப்படவில்லையா? அரசாங்கத்தார் மூடப்பழக்க வழக்கங்கட்கு இடங்கொடுக்கவில்லையாயின் எங்கள் உரிமையை நாங்கள் காப்பாற்றிக் கொள்வோம். ஆகையால் மதசம்பந்தமான போர்டை அடியோடு ஒழிக்கவேண்டும். அதற்கு யாதுங் கடன் கொடுக்கக்கூடாதென்பதே எனது வேண்டுகோள்.

"**போலீஸ் அதிகாரம்.**—போலீஸ் அதிகாரம் சரியான முறையில்லை. போலீஸாராலேயே கேசுகள் அதிகப்படுகின்றன. நாட்டில் சாதிக் கொடுமைகளால் பல அக்கிரமங்கள் நடக்கின்றன. போலீஸார் நியாயமான முறையில் தங்கள் அதிகாரங்களைச் செலுத்துவார்களானால் நாட்டில் குழப்பமே யில்லை.

"**கல்வி இலாகா.**—தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்களுக்குப் போதுமான பாடசாலைகளேற்படவில்லை. லோகல் போர்டாரால் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள பாடசாலைகளில் ஆதிதிராவிடச் சிறுவர்களைச் சேர்ப்பதில்லை. கல்வி இலாகா அதிகாரிகள் சரியானபடி கவனித்தால் இத்துணை குறைகளேற்படா. உதாரணமாக செங்கல்பட்டு ஜில்லா மகாபலிபுரம் அடுத்த பூஞ்சேரி அதிதிராவிடர்கள் ஆங்குள்ள தாலுக் போர்டு பாடசாலையில் தங்கள் குழந்தைகளைச் சேர்த்ததால் ஆதிதிராவிடர்களை கிராமவாசிகள் வேலையிலிருந்து நீக்கிவிட்டார்கள். குழந்தைகளையும் விரட்டிவிட்டார்கள். பூஞ்சேரி ஆதிதிராவிடர்கட்கு ஏற்பட்டுள்ள துன்பங்களுக்கு அளவேயில்லை. இவ்விஷயம் 25-1-30 'திராவிடனில்' வெளிவந்துள்ளது. கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லா எருக்கூர் ஆதிதிராவிடர் குழந்தைகளை பள்ளியில் சேர்த்ததால் அவர்களது வீடுகளைக் கொளுத்திவிட்டார்கள். இவ்வாறு பல இடங்களில் அக்கிரமங்கள் நடைபெறுகின்றன. இது விஷயத்தில் அரசாங்கத்தார் கடுமையான நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்

டும். தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்களுக்கெனத் தனிமையாக உயர்தர கலாசாலைகளேற்படுத்தவேண்டும். அதனோடும் உணவு வசதிகளேற்படுத்திக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அரசாங்கத்தாரே சில விடங்களில் ஹாஸ்டல்களேற்படுத்தியுள்ளார்கள். அவற்றிற்கு ஏராளமான பணஞ்செலவழிக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் ஆதிதிராவிடர்கள் சொந்த முயற்சியால் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டு நடைபெற்றுவரும் சிதம்பரம் நந்தனார் கல்விக்கழகத்தின் ஆதரவில் நடைபெற்றுவரும் மாயர் ஹாஸ்டலில் மற்றைய ஹாஸ்டல்களிவிருப்பதைவிட அதிக மாணவர்களிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அரசாங்கத்தார் நடத்திவரும் ஹாஸ்டல்களுக்குச் செலவழிப்பதினும் மிகவும் குறைந்த தொகையே கொடுக்கிறார்கள். இப்படியானால் எப்படி கல்வி விருத்தியடையும். பூரண மது விலக்கவேண்டும். நிறுத்தப்பட்டது.”

Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar:—“அக்கிராசனரவர்களே:

“நம தேசம் முன்னேற்றம் அடைவதற்காக சட்டசபை மெம்பர்கள் பெருவாரியான ஓட்டுருமையைப் பெற்று இங்கு கூடியுள்ளோம்.

“நம் தேச நன்மைக்காக ஒருவிதமும் செய்யவில்லை என்று உறுதி கூறுவேன். ஏனென்றால் இங்கு சபா மண்டபத்தில் கூடி மின்சார பங்கா வீசிக்கொண்டு சந்தோஷமடைந்தோமென கருதப்படுகிறது.

“உலகின்கண் வாழும் விவசாயிகளுக்கு வருஷப் பிரதிவருஷமோ வரி சுமை அளவிட முடியவில்லை. அதாவது ஒரு மனிதனுக்கு வீட்டுவரி, கக்கூஸ் வரி, வரும்படி வரி, பிரயாண வரி, ஜல வரி, செக்கு வரி, எண்ணை வரி இம்மாதிரியான வரி சுமைகளை ஏற்றினால் எப்படி தாங்க முடியுமென்று கவனித்துப் பாருங்கள்.

“நமது இந்தியா தேசத்திலோ முப்பத்துமூன்றுகோடி ஜனங்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஒரு மனிதனுக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு ஒரு அணா எட்டு தம்படி வரும்படி என்று கவர்ன்மெண்டார் அறிவிக்கிறார்கள். தன்னுடைய இகபர சாதனமாயுள்ள மனைவி மக்களையும் காப்பாற்றவும் உண்டி உணவிற்கும் உடுப்பதற்கும் கால் வயிர் அரிக்கால் வயிர் கஞ்சிக்கு இடமில்லாமல் திண்டாட்டப்படுகிறார்கள். திரேகத்திலோ ஊன் என்பது இல்லை. தந்தம்தான் இருக்கிறது. கவர்ன்மெண்டார் எடுத்துக்கொண்ட சிரத்தை என்ன? இம்மாதிரியான வரிகளைக் குறைக்க பட்ஜட்டில் ஏதாவது ஏற்பட்டிருப்பதாக தெரியவில்லை.

“காலதேச வர்த்தமானத்தாலும் மழையின் குறைவினாலும் மானிட மக்கள் அலமந்து கிடக்கின்றனர். பாலாற்றிலோ ஜலப்பிரவாகம் வந்து எத்தனையோ ஆண்டுகளாய்விட்டன. குடிகளுக்கு விட்டால் மணிலா கொட்டை போடுவார்கள். அதற்கும் பயன் அளிக்காது. Mettur Project கட்டி தஞ்சாவூர் முதலிய ஊர்களுக்கு போக ஏற்பாடு செய்வதைப்போல பாலாற்றைக் கட்டி ஏன் ஏர்பாடு செய்யக்கூடாது என்று கேட்கிறேன். செங்கல்பட்டு ஜில்லாவில் மழை மிகக் குறைவு. மற்ற ஜில்லாக்களைப்போல செழிப்பானதும் அல்ல. ஆகையால் வரியை உயர்த்த ஏற்பாடு செய்வது நியாயத்துக்கும் மனச்சாட்சிக்கும் விரோதமாக தோன்றுகிறது.

27th February 1930] [Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar.]

" P.W. டிப்பார்ட்மெண்டார் ஏரிகளுக்கு பத்து பதினைந்து வருஷத்திற்கு ஒருமுறை மண்வேலை செய்கிறார்கள். இதைப்போல கசக்கால் ஊற்றுக்கால்களுக்கு ஏன் மண்வேலை செய்யக்கூடாது. Minor Irrigation என்று சொல்வதற்கு பொருள் என்னமோ தெரியவில்லை.

" என்னுடை ஜில்லாவில் கோவிந்தவாடி, பிச்சவாக்கம் என்னும் சில இடங்களில் உள்ள கசக்கால்வாய் மண் மேடாகிவிட்டது. இதைப் பற்றி ரெவின்யு டிப்பார்ட்மெண்டுக்கு பன்முறை மாதர் செய்தும் ஒரு பயனும் அளித்ததில்லை. மேற்கூறிய ஆயக்கட்டுகளுக்கு 1,000—1,500 காணி தரப்படி உள்ள சாகுபடி நிலங்கள் பயிர் செய்வதற்கு இடமில்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. மேற்படி கசக் கால்வாய்களை தோண்டிவிடுவார்களேயானால் கவர்ன்மெண்டுக்கு மேற்கூறிய நிலங்களிலிருந்து சுமார் 10,000 ரூபாய்க்கு வருமானம் வரும். இதை சிறிதேனும் கவனிப்பதே கிடையாது என்று உண்மை கூறுவேன். இனியாவது விவசாயிகள் நன்மையைக்கருதி இப்பேற்பட்ட இடங்களை கவனிப்பார்கள் என்று நம்புகிறேன்.

" தவிர தாலூக்போர்ட் டிஸ்டிரிக்ட் போர்டால் ஒருபயனும் குடிகள் அனுபவிப்பதில்லை. ரோட் வசதிகள் இல்லாமையால் மழைக்காலங்களில் நாங்களும் மாடுகளும் படும் கஷ்டம் அளவிட்டு சொல்லமுடியாது.

" ஆகாயத்திலிருக்கிற நட்சத்திரங்களை எண்ணினாலும் எண்ணலாம் ஆனாலோ இந்த டோல்கேட்டுகளை எண்ணமுடியாது. ரோட்டு பண்டு வாங்குவது எதற்காக என்று நான் கேழ்க்கிறேன். ரோட்டு பண்டை குடிகளிடம் வாங்கிவிட்டு குடிகள் ஓட்டிவரும் வண்டிகளுக்கு கேட்வரி வாங்குவானேன்? சென்னையிலிருந்து காஞ்சிபுரம் போகவேண்டியிருந்தால் ஒருவன் நான்கு இடங்களில் டோல் கொடுக்கவேண்டி இருக்கிறது. இப்படிப்பட்ட தொந்திரவை அடியோடு ஒழிக்க கவர்ன்மெண்டார் தக்க ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்வார்கள் என்று எதிர்பார்க்கிறேன்.

" இந்த விஷயத்தைக் குறித்து சென்றவருஷம் ஆனரபில் பிரதம மந்திரியிடம் பன்முறை நேரில் சொல்லியிருக்கிறேன். ஜில்லா போர்ட் கட்சிபலத்தின்பேரில் எண்ணிறந்த டோல்கேட்டுகளை ஏழைமக்கள்மேல் சுமத்துவது தர்மமா.

" விவசாய குடிமக்களுக்கு ஒருவிதமான நன்மையும் பயக்காமல் சட்டசபையும் சட்டமெம்பர்களும் எதற்காக என்று நான் கேழ்கிறேன். காருண்ய கவர்ன்மெண்டார் என்றால் என்ன என்று தெரியவில்லை. ஏழைகளிடத்தில் ஜீவகாருண்யம் அவசியம் இருத்தல்வேண்டும்.

" தேசமக்கள் நன்மைக்காக திருமணியில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் குஷ்டரோக ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் வசதிகள் சரியாக இல்லை. அவ்விடம் குஷ்டரோகிகள் சென்றாலும் இடவசதிகள் இல்லை என்று அனுப்பிவிடுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் சென்னையில் ரோட்டுகளிலும் ரோட்டின் மூலைகளிலும் படும் கஷ்டம் எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்தவிஷயம். இதைப்பற்றி கவனிப்பீர்கள் என்று நம்புகிறேன்.

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"கடைசியாக இந்தியா தேசத்தில் வசிக்கும் ஏழைஜனங்கள் இடவசதி இல்லாமலும் தங்குவதற்கு ஒரு சிறிய குடிசை இல்லாமலும் பரதவிக்கின்றார்கள். அதின் திருஷ்டாந்தம் சென்னையில்வந்து மரத்தடியில் உருண்டுகிடப்பவர்களை யாவரும் தெரிந்தவிஷயமே.

"முடிவாக, மேட்டூர் தேக்க திட்டத்தின்பொருட்டு மனிதர்களால் உடைக்கும் புளுமட்டல் யூனிட் ஒன்றுக்கு ரூபாய் 9-13-0 ஆகிறது. அதைவிட்டு மிஷின் கொண்டு உடைத்தால் ரூபாய் 27 ஆகிறது. இதனால் அனேகம் ஆட்களுக்கு வேலை கிடைக்காமல் போய்விடுகிறது. ஆனால் செலவு மூன்று மடங்கு ஆகிறது. இதில் ஏற்படும் நஷ்டத்தைக் கருதி கனம் மந்திரியவர்கள் கவனித்தார்களில்லை. தவிர அங்கு வேலை செய்யும் கூலியாட்களுக்கு சரியான வசதி இல்லை. மரத்தடியில் காலங் கழிக்கிறார்கள். மற்ற பெரிய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுக்கு கட்டடங்கள் ஏராளமாக கட்டப்பட்டு இருக்கின்றன. அவ்வளவு கட்டடங்கள் நீடித்திருக்கக் கூடியவைகளா? ஏழைகளுக்கு சிறிய சிறிய குடிசைகளாவது போட்டுக் கொடுக்கக் கூடாதா? இதுவிஷயமாக கனம் மந்திரியவர்கள் ஏராளமான வசதிகள் செய்வார் என்று நினைக்கிறேன்."

The Council then adjourned for lunch.

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.)

II

THE MALABAR TENANCY BILL.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"I have to deliver the message of His Excellency the Governor regarding the Malabar Tenancy Bill :—

'HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

'I have given careful consideration to the report of the discussions in the Legislative Council and to representations that have been made to me by deputations and otherwise in respect of the Malabar Tenancy Bill. While I fully realize the care and attention that has been given to the Bill by the Council, it appears to me that the proviso inserted in clause 13, sub-clause (1), which was opposed by the representatives of the tenants though supported by the Member nominated to represent the janmis, imposes a condition on the janmis which would place them at a disadvantage when the fixity of tenure given to the tenants is taken into consideration. I accordingly return, under section 81-A (1) of the Government of India Act, the part of the Bill specified below to the Legislative Council for its reconsideration together with the amendment appended which I recommend.

Part of the Bill returned.

'Clause 13, sub-clause (1).

Amendment.

'In sub-clause (1) of clause 13, *omit* the proviso'."

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I—*cont.*

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET—*cont.*

* Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar :—" Mr. President, Sir, we are indeed very thankful to the hon. the Finance Member for the very able and lucid speech in which he presented to us the last of his budgets. Out of the mass of dreary figures contained in this bulky volume placed before the House he has drawn and placed before us a very clear picture of the present financial position of this province. But, however, I must say that one cannot congratulate him on what he has placed before us as a clear and necessary corollary of the position disclosed by the survey that he has made. He concludes his review of the present financial position of the Presidency by the very disquieting statement which is found at the bottom of page 4 of his speech. He says there, Sir : 'There is, however, one point that seems to me clear. In a province of which the wealth is predominantly agricultural new or substituted taxation will have to fall mainly upon agriculture.' That is a statement which not myself alone but a large majority of this House will take very strong exception to. If I could be permitted to make a parody of this statement, I can say with a much greater approximation to the real state of things : 'There is, however, one point that seems to us clear. In a province of which poverty is predominantly agricultural, no new or substituted taxation can fall upon agriculture.' (Hear, hear.) I submit, Sir, that this statement would find a much more easy and much readier acceptance at the hands of the Members of this House and at the hands of the public of this Presidency than the statement that has been made by the hon. the Finance Member in his speech. These gloomy reflections of the hon. Finance Member seem to have been provoked by certain considerations which he has set out in some detail in the course of his speech. The first of these is his idea that the land revenue of this province has reached a stage of stagnation. I should protest against his description of the state of land revenue as having reached any stage of stagnation. It is no doubt conceded by all that land revenue is not capable of any further expansion. That state of things, I take it, Sir, only means that we have reached the maximum in land taxation beyond which it is not possible for us to go. I submit, Sir, that there is nothing unexpected in land revenue being considered hereafter as incapable of yielding any further income than it has done so far. The second consideration which seems to have provoked this rather melancholy statement is that he apprehends that within the near future the second largest item of revenue in this province is likely to disappear, I mean the revenue under excise. But the figures placed before us by him do not in the least seem to justify any such apprehension. I would only make a reference in a word or two to the figures that have been placed before us. You would find, Sir, that according to the actuals of the year 1928–29 that is according to the final figures as they have been placed before us excise revenue yields an income of 558 lakhs. The provision in the budget of the year 1929–30 was 553 lakhs. But as a matter of fact the actual receipts during the current year 1929–30 are expected to rise much higher than the budgeted estimate and the anticipation is that the figures will reach 596 lakhs. Now, Sir, the hon. the Finance Member has told us that as a result of various causes of which he has made some mention in his speech the anticipated receipts in the budget have been largely exceeded in the course of the year. I do not see why the same cause which gave the large increase in excise

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during the current year cannot again operate in the course of the coming year and produce the same results as they did in the current year. Apart from the possibility of these causes again operating you will also find, Sir, in the budget under the next year's receipts the amount provided is 565 lakhs after making adequate provision for the fall in revenue which is expected as a result of the activities of the propaganda committees which have been established in the various districts of the province. The result of these activities is expected to produce a fall which in his speech is estimated at 27 lakhs. But as a matter of fact in the budget the deficit is shown as 31 lakhs; though in the revised estimate the figure is 556 lakhs in the budget estimate there is an estimate of 565 lakhs. Even assuming it as 565 it provides for an increased receipt under this head of 12 lakhs over the current year's budget estimate. It is seven lakhs more than the actual receipts of 1929 and it is 12 lakhs more than the budget figures of 1929-30.

2-45 p.m. "I ask, in view of these figures whether there is any justification whatever for the alarm which now seems to have been entertained by the hon. the Finance Member that within a few years the revenue under excise is going to disappear. A further consideration which seems to have weighed with the hon. the Finance Member is that as a result of the constitutional reforms which we all anxiously expect, increased expenditure will become necessary. While I can say with emphasis that the prospect of increased taxation and increased expenditure is not going to frighten us into an abandonment of the national demand, I cannot conceive of any constitutional reforms which can make expenditure in this province more extravagant than it is to-day. The first and the most essential duty of any Government in a new constitution would be to devise means not to increase taxation but to apply the pruning knife of retrenchment in a most merciless manner. There are several departments, Sir, in which retrenchment is possible and no attempt has been seriously made to effect any retrenchment in any of these departments. I shall mention one or two instances.

"We have heard with considerable satisfaction that litigation in this province has either decreased or is for smaller values. It is a matter for gratification that people are not in the habit of indulging in ruinous litigation as they were before. But what is the consequence that we should ordinarily expect from this reduction in the volume and character of litigation? It would be expected that it will result in the reduction of courts. Is there any move on the part of the Government to reduce the number of courts in this Province? On the other hand, if we go into the list of new items of expenditure—that long catalogue which we see appended to the Finance Secretary's Memorandum—we see that there are many new courts established instead of any amongst the existing courts being abolished. That is a direction in which it must be certainly possible for retrenchment, seeing that litigation has decreased both in volume and character.

"Again with regard to the Public Works Department, the hon. the Finance Member says 'our large civil works programme mainly represents the brick and mortar side of these expansions'. Well, Sir, there is no endeavour, no earnest endeavour, on the part of the Government to reduce expenditure in civil works and in addition to the large expenditure which has already been budgeted for there is the very pleasing hope held out to the officers of the various departments that 'we shall be delighted to find more money if progress shows that our estimates are too cautious'. This is the

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sort of generous liberality with which the hon. the Finance Member treats the Public Works Department. I fail to see why a similar liberality is not shown to the local bodies. One charge that is brought against these bodies and the Public Works Department is that their demands are beyond their capacity to spend during the current year. Well, Sir, while that is so with regard to the Public Works Department and hopes are held out to them that they will be given more money if progress shows that the estimates have been too cautious, I should be equally delighted to see that some ray of hope is held out to local bodies in the case of whose works also the pruning knife has been applied with even greater rigour than in the case of the Public Works Department. In the Public Works Department their actual demands have been curtailed because it was thought that it would not be possible for them to spend all the money that they asked for. The same thing has been done in the case of the grant-in-aid to the local bodies. Not even 50 per cent of the money that they asked for appears to have been given and yet the hon. the Finance Member is not prepared to say that in the course of the year, if it is found possible that more money could be spent it would be given. This is in passing. Coming back to my point I say, Sir, that under the new constitution when we get a self-governing province the first and the most essential duty of self-govering Madras would be not to increase expenditure but to reduce the expenditure of the present costly administration as much as possible. If further taxation becomes necessary I cannot think of a more oppressive and a more unjust form of taxation than increased taxation on the agriculturists.

" One other matter which people who have had to do anything with the administration of the local bodies have been crying for is the constitution of a Rural Development Fund. While this insistent cry received no recognition till now from the hon. the Finance Member we have this year at least a complacent observation that ' no doubt it would be possible to evolve a practical scheme but sheer financial impossibility puts any further consideration of the suggestion out of question; while it is gratifying to see that a concession has been made that it is possible to evolve a practical scheme of rural development I cannot certainly accept the second portion of the statement. Even if there were any difficulties in the way of evolving such a scheme till now, I would remind the House that under the Local Boards Act as it has been lately passed by this Council, a rural development fund has been constituted and a statutory body has also been established for the purpose of administering this fund. There can therefore be no further difficulty, no practical difficulty with regard to the institution of such a fund or with regard to the administration of such a fund. When that is the case, it is really a great pity that an imaginary financial impossibility should stand in the way of the constitution of this Rural Development Fund being really accepted by the Government. Well, Sir, the proposal that was placed before the hon. the Finance Member at a conference to which he was good enough to invite a number of people who were interested in District Board Administration was that out of the accumulated balances that we have, he could easily give a crore or if he was not so liberal as that at least half a crore and start that as nucleus of the Rural Development Fund. I do not see the reason why that should be a financial impossibility. The diversion of a crore or a half out of the accumulated balance that we possess will not, I should say, in any manner jeopardise the financial stability of this Province. We have

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more than three crores and the fact that a crore or a half is diverted for this purpose will not seriously affect the financial position of this Province at all. I hope that Government will still be able to reconsider the matter and that before the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government lays down his office, he would succeed in the establishment of a substantial Rural Development Fund which would be welcomed by the rural population of this province more than any scheme of amelioration which the Government can possibly think of."

* Mr. H. F. P. Hearson :—" Mr. President, Sir, it has, I believe, been the usual custom to allow two and a half days for discussion upon the budget and half a day for Government reply, and when I learnt that this year the time allowed for the general discussion had been cut down to one and half days, I thought then, Sir, that the reason was the absence from the House of the party which besides being the largest is by far the most talkative. I am however inclined to think now, Sir, that one of the reasons may have been that the authors of the innovation had seen an advanced copy of the hon. the Finance Member's speech.

" The speech of the hon. the Finance Member seems to me, Sir, to provide an incentive to thought rather than to speech. It has been called to-day in this House a 'carrying on Budget' and this is what it appears to me to be and I do not find any cause for blame in that.

" The hon the Finance Member has given a summary of the last five years during which he has held his office, and I congratulate the Finance Member on his good fortune, as it may be said of him that his lot has fallen to him in pleasant phases. During his term of office there has been no catastrophies such as famine, pestilence or cyclone of any magnitude to dislocate the revenues of the province, and it has been during his tenure of office that the remission of provincial contributions has taken place.

" I entirely agree with the hon. the Finance Member in pointing out the great problem that lies before us, and I cannot agree with the criticism that has been passed upon him by at least one speaker to-day, that it was for him to face the problem now. I am inclined to think that it would have been regarded by at least some sections of the House as a great impertinence on behalf of a retiring Finance Member if he were at this stage in the history of the province to lay down a programme for the next 5 or 10 years, and I think he was right in merely drawing attention to the problem and leaving the future to face it.

" It has been said by speakers to-day that no additional taxation should be contemplated, but with that view I do not agree and I find myself in complete accord with the hon. the Finance Member that additional revenue must be found. It is my view, and I think the view of many people, that no Government that is truly alive can possibly get on without increasing its expenditure year by year. That is true in most countries and particularly true of India and of this Province, where the great spending departments, Education, Public Health, Sanitation, Medical relief, and the like may yet be said to be almost in their infancy. These departments require large sums of money to keep them up, and the sums demanded must ever increase. I agree therefore with the hon. the Finance Member that the problem that we have to face is one of increasing our revenues.

" During the last five years our net revenues have increased by the remission of the Provincial contributions of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores, but our real revenues have

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not really increased, and the Finance Member has shown that although this enormous increase in the revenues has not hitherto been spent, and in fact there is a sum carried forward of some 4 crores, the budget which he now presents anticipates a deficit. We have therefore in the course of a few years increased our spending capacity by this very large sum, and we have reached a point when the two ends barely meet. There is no cause for alarm at present. As the Finance Member has fairly said his successor will have a large sum in his pocket with which to meet any shortages that may occur in the next few years of readjustment, but the problem must be faced as to how our revenue is to be expanded to meet our ever expanding expenditure. For that no doubt responsibility lies, as the hon. the Finance Member has said, on this House; but primarily it will lie upon the Government, whatever form it may take, to give the lead. 3 p.m.

"May I, Sir, before I sit down say a few words in humble tribute of the hon. Finance Member who is shortly to leave office? Tribute has already been paid to-day to his powers as an orator, and I would say that Sir Thomas Moir does not often speak in this House but when he does, what he says is to the point, and if I may say so, Sir, it has always been audible, a virtue which we have not always found in speeches from the Revenue benches, and I would congratulate him on the fact that when he was unable to deliver a speech himself he found such an able substitute in Mr. Watson.

"May I, Sir, while expressing sympathy with Sir Thomas in his illness express my appreciation of his courage and devotion to duty which has caused him to continue to work and see this last budget through, in spite of the solicitations of his friends that he should surrender the work to some one else and take a well earned rest?"

* Mr. M. Balasubrahmania Mudaliyar :—"Mr. President, Sir, my ears have been so much deafened by the chorus of encomiums showered upon the hon. the Finance Member's performances during the last five years, that I am almost tempted to strike a discordant note. I have carefully studied the budget estimates for the last five years, and I am irresistibly led to the conclusion that every year the closing balance is estimated at a very small surplus or a very small deficit. But when it comes to the question of the opening balance for the next year, we find 400 or 500 lakhs accruing to the credit of the Government. There must be something very serious or radically wrong with the prophets and the pandits of the departments of Government for this state of affairs. That means really that a few departments are given much more monies to spend than they really require. Now, the hon. the Finance Member in his speech says that the principal culprits in this direction are the departments of Public Health and Public Works. Between themselves, they have allowed more than 50 lakhs to lapse without being spent. We all know that these two departments are manned by services which are supposed to be fat services, viz., the engineering and the medical services. Then, there is the invitation by the hon. the Finance Member to the Members of the Transferred half to find sources of substituted revenue. The Finance Member says, 'we are going to have a permanent settlement for the land revenue. The excise revenue is going to disappear. What are you going to do? How are you going to find a substituted revenue?' This shows that the barriers of diarchy are, when put under financial pressure, gradually disappearing. The Ministers for the last ten years were all along under the impression that they were under no responsibility to find new sources of

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revenue but that they were entrusted with the task of spending only. Now comes the Finance Member suddenly upon them after ten years saying: 'Here is a deficit budget, here is a source of revenue which you are going to lose. What are you going to do? I am now practically relinquishing my task. You may yourselves find a substituted source of revenue and spend whatever you like.' That is the state of affairs. In this kind of budget, what is it that the Ministers have done? Have they proposed any substituted sources of revenue, or are they going to cut down expenditure by 5 crores? The excise revenue is yielding about 5½ crores, and that is going to disappear. Either they must bring down expenditure by a diminution of a like amount or find a substituted revenue for the like amount. The Finance Member says that the burden of extra taxation must fall on the agriculturist. My hon. Friend from Trichinopoly has said that the agriculturist is in the unhappy predicament of the proverbial camel with the last straw on its back. Why not the Ministers suggest either reduction of expenditure or propose additional sources of revenue for which the Government of India Act gives ample powers to the provinces, say a tax on betting or gambling? We all know how many millions are spent on the race course. Why not have a tax on succession to permanently settled estates? We know how these landholders of permanently settled estates are spending money by breeding race horses and patronizing the race course. That is how they laudably spend their money (laughter). Why not a tax on tobacco?

"Coming to the services, what is it that the Government has got for its plan for recruitment to the services? No doubt, the communal Government Order was passed. Good or bad, it is there. But in order to do justice to every community, are there recruitments according to any proper method? If members of a particular community are to be recruited, the places now go to people who are the sons and sons-in-law of the men in power. Why not make the selection by a competitive examination among the members of that community and put recruitment on that basis? On the other hand, we are left adrift and told that there is the Services Commission, and God knows what it is going to do. Some Mussalman Members of this House laid stress on the absence of a Mussalman Judge in the High Court. May I ask these gentlemen to suggest a few names of the leading front rank Mussalman advocates practising either at the Madras Bar or outside? (Khan Bahadur Abdul Razack Sahib Bahadur: Question.) If the arrears in the High Court are looked into, one finds a deplorable state of affairs. The average pendency of second appeals and of first appeals is increasing by years. My hon. Friend, the Minister for Excise, was himself a lawyer for nearly twenty years, and he will be able to tell us what the state of arrears is. Even if there are half a dozen judges appointed for the purpose, they will not be able to cope with the pending work in half a dozen years. Let alone the current work. Do the Government propose to appoint a committee to investigate into this matter and find out a proper remedy?

"Coming to the Education Department, the recent report of the Director of Public Instruction on elementary education is worth reading. From the statements made there, torn from their context, one would almost be left to think that the report was penned by a leading Congresman. It is so damning. The reference to half a dozen points is noteworthy, such as lack of control, wastage, lack of proper and efficient staff, lack of concentration and so on. Now, nearly 1½ crores are proposed to be spent on elementary education. The

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Government Order recording the report only says that the Government are taking steps to do this thing and to do that thing and that the Elementary Education Act is going to be revised.

"Then coming to the department of Public Health, the hon. Minister for Public Health proposes to spend Rs 5 lakhs upon the prohibition propaganda, and in this every hon. Member will be agreed that it is going to be well spent. But most Members would not have noticed that there is a proposal to reinstate two Excise Commissioners to exercise proper supervision over the prohibition propaganda. These two Excise Commissioners were sent out in 1924 as a result of retrenchment. Perhaps it was imposed as a condition on the Minister for Public Health that these two Commissioners should be restored, and on that condition some five lakhs will be given for the purpose of the said propaganda. Then, what is the amount that is going to be spent for indigenous medicine? While four crores are to be spent on the Medical Department, how much of it goes to indigenous medicine? It is a sum which is worth knowing, but not worth mentioning.

"Then, coming to the brick and mortar department, as the hon. the Finance Member was pleased to put it, there are various proposals for constructing various buildings for Government offices. I do not know whether the existing buildings could not be so re-arranged as to suit the necessary requirements. For instance, there is a proposal to build a new Collector's office at Chingleput. But I am sure the hon. Member in charge knows that there is a big building at Poonamallee which is now no longer used for military purposes, and there are proposals going on for leasing it out to various institutions at nominal rentals. Why not that be used for the Chingleput Collector's office? Then, there was an answer to a question on Monday last that portions of the Government House at Guindy are going to be let out. Why not this portion be used for the Collector's office?

"Then, as regards agriculture, I hope the hon. Minister for Development will be pleased to state how much money is spent on experiments on agriculture every year and how many acres of land in this Presidency have been benefited by those experiments, and how much money has been realized by people as profit as a result of these experiments. I think such information will be useful to the Members of this House in passing the necessary demands for agriculture.

"There is then the question of irrigation. The hon. Member for Irrigation has not provided decent sums for the proper upkeep and restoration of tanks and supply channels. For instance, the Sembrampakam tank in the Chingleput district which I represent has not been getting a proper supply of water for the last ten years. Nobody knows why. Nobody has ever cared to investigate whether it is due to silt accumulating in the supply channels. Any steps taken to put it in proper order would be welcomed by the people. The same is the case with the Red Hills tank. As for the Palar, as some hon. Friend put it, there is only sand and not water in the river. For the last twenty years, there was not a drop of flood water in the Palar, and this is one of the main sources of irrigation in the Chingleput district which is yielding to the Government several lakhs of land revenue. As I said, these three sources of irrigation in the district, namely, the Sembrampakam tank, the Red Hills tank and the Palar require the immediate attention of the hon.

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Member in charge of Irrigation. May I request the hon. Members of the front Treasury Bench to pay immediate attention to all points raised by me ?"

* The RAJA OF PARLAKIMEDI :—" Mr. President, Sir, as an agriculturist and a representative of the agricultural interests I feel it my duty to thank the hon. the Finance Member for presenting such a successful budget and being in favour of supporting the agricultural interests. But, Sir, I say agriculture being an industry and the industry for India and for this province in particular to come to the rescue of so many millions of people deserves the support of the Government to a greater extent. For instance, the raw products of India it will be interesting to the House if I say, are gradually losing ground in the foreign markets and they deserve every protection at the hands of the Government, at all costs, from being adulterated as they are by the middlemen. As a result the cultivation of groundnut is becoming less paying to the cultivator and so it is in need of sufficient safeguards and greater interest taken by the department to increase the area under cultivation and capture the market again.

" Groundnut in India, which was fetching a very good price for the cultivator had a very good hold upon the world's market. But unfortunately the cultivators are at the mercy of the local middlemen who are the people concerned in marketing the products and these people have been playing all sorts of tricks with it to gain weight and so much so that when it reaches the other parts of the world where it is wanted it is all something but groundnut and least useful for commercial purposes.

3-15 p.m. "Another thing is the irrigated Cambodia cotton of Tinnevelly. This crop, I had the honour to learn while I was a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, has got a great demand in the world's market. I was interested to learn also that the present Director of Agriculture has got a perfect scheme to protect it from adulteration and to increase the area under that crop in the province ; only he requires to be armed with proper legislation. I hope the hon. Minister in charge will collect all necessary information regarding this crop and arm the Director of Agriculture with the necessary legislation to protect the Cambodia cotton from being contaminated as it is by the marketing agencies, and see the annual cropping area under Cambodia cotton of Tinnevelly is increased. Sir, hon. Members—several of them have been saying that if agriculture has to be improved agriculturists must be prepared to tax themselves for the necessary financial help. In my opinion it is only a plausible argument to put forward. Other Friends also have pointed out that agriculture is bearing the maximum amount of taxation and that anything further will break its neck. I agree with them ; and may I suggest that there are several other directions in which money could be found for further improving the indigenous method of agriculture carried on in the different parts of the province ? After so many years of experience we may, in my humble opinion, forego, for instance, some of the rings of the ladder of Local Self-Government. For example, we can well get on with lesser number of existing institutions. Why have so many of them such as district boards, taluk boards, municipalities and so on ? I think, just a couple of them at any place will be more than enough at this stage. If we forego, as I said, some of these institutions sufficient funds could be found, I am sure, to meet the demand to a considerable extent to further agricultural improvements. I was glad to note from the Finance Member's speech that a Millet Breeding Station has been established. For Madras, paddy is the

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staple food crop and therefore I think the number of paddy breeding stations should be increased considerably especially in areas like Ganjam and Vizagapatam, as I am sorry to observe in these districts there is only one such station at present and hence their number should be increased in different areas to be of greater advantage to the agriculturists. In my part of the world, Ganjam, there is hardly a single Government agricultural farm and the whole district depends entirely on the demonstration and experiments made in private farms owned by the zamindars. Of course we zamindars are ever ready to place our farms at the disposal of the departmental experts. However, as after all, the scope of such experiments and demonstrations is apparently limited and insufficient in a vast district like Ganjam with insufficient facilities for transport and conveyance, at least another experimental or demonstrative Government farm to start with can conveniently be housed somewhere in the northern parts of the district. Unfortunately, as Ganjam is at the very tail end of the province the other activities of the Government also do not extend to that district and the district is practically devoid of the attention, I may say, it should receive. An agricultural farm, a paddy breeding station and a cattle breeding station opened there would, I am sure, very much encourage the agriculturists and satisfy the Oriyas who have been feeling rather discontented and neglected. As an Oriya I feel I must bring to the notice of Government the necessity for staffing such institutions to be opened with as many Oriyas as possible. At present I admit that the number of qualified Oriyas is small but they are coming up and in a short period there will be a sufficient number among them to take entire charge of these institutions at every step.

"Another thing I may interest the House in, and which I would also like to bring to the notice of the Government is the necessity for further investigation and furthering experiment on food nutrition both for human beings and animals as now being conducted by Colonel MacCarrison at Coonoor, with all possible financial support. It is, I say again, a very important investigation. Unless we have strong men to labour in the fields, and healthy and strong animals to work, India as an agricultural country cannot last long and progress in many spheres of life will also retard. With these words, I again express my gratitude and thanks to the Finance Member for what he has done to the Province in general and for protecting the agricultural interests, rural upliftment and santitation."

* Rao Sahib B. VENKATARAMAYYA NAYUDU :—" Sir, I wish to make a few observations on the budget that has been presented to us. The first point I would like to deal with is that relating to land revenue. It has been again and again urged before this House that the interests of the agriculturists who form the vast bulk of the population of this Presidency should be safeguarded. I wish to urge the same thing again and emphasize the fact that whatever else you may do or may not do here will not advance the interests of the ryots and will not bring him peace which is necessary for the maintenance of law and order. One or two reasons have been urged as to why land revenue should not be enhanced. The first consideration is that in the whole of India the land tax in this Presidency is at a higher ratio and the second consideration is that the ryots of this Presidency are in an impoverished condition and are greatly indebted and as such they ought not be taxed higher. In the report of the Decentralization Commission of 1909 and again in the Joint Parliamentary Committee report there are indications to show that a definite policy and programme should be laid down before the settlement rates are

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enhanced time after time. No doubt this is a question affecting the whole presidency and not merely West and East Godavari and Kistna. But a specific question concerning the introduction of settlement rates in East and West Godavari and Kistna has been raised and, thanks to the labours of the Press and of the hon. Members of this House, a motion was introduced just at a time when it was almost certain that the introduction of the settlement rates was a settled fact, and passed by this House appointing a committee to consider the question. It was accepted by the Government and the committee have reported on the matters in issue. With regard to this report, while the hon. the Finance Member began by stating that he would not prejudge the issue, but would only consider the financial aspect of it, in the latter portion of his budget statement he has practically prejudged the whole case and advanced arguments against the acceptance of the report of that committee. For once, so far as I am aware, in the history of the British Indian administration, a non-official committee was appointed to deal with questions of this nature. All those who are acquainted with the districts of East and West Godavari—and I am happy to see that the present Revenue Member was there for a long time as Collector of the district—will be in a position to know the difficulties of the ryot population there. The Finance Member, however, has advanced arguments for the rejection of the report of the committee. There is an observation which he has made in the paragraph dealing with Excise. The Finance Member has stated that the ryots have superfluous income which they are using on luxuries and on alcoholic drinks. I submit this is an observation which does little credit to an experienced Member as the Finance Member is; I submit, as another hon. Member of the House expressed it, he has been out of touch for a long time with the ryot population and is therefore unable to appreciate properly the condition of the ryot population. It is a notorious fact that the people in these districts live from hand to mouth and have not the wherewithal to supply themselves with food and clothing. I mean a major portion of the ryot population. Under these circumstances, the Finance Member's statement is baseless. That there will be a loss of 17 lakhs of revenue is not correct. The objection first of all is that it should not be added to the revenue. In the second place, even if it were so, I do not know how it can be said that it amounts to 17 lakhs. Even if it were a loss, I see from the previous proceedings of the Council the present Minister for Public Health and the present Law Member have again and again pleaded eloquently in past years, before this House that the ryot has already been taxed to the maximum and anything done in the direction of imposing heavier burden on the ryots would be unjust and inequitable. I do not know whether the whole Government including the Excise Minister and the Law Member are responsible for framing this budget and shaping the financial proposals. In this House the hon. Member went to the length of observing at the time when the iniquitous impost was done away with that the land revenue should be reduced by 10 or 15 per cent. Well, I do not know when he has been transferred to the position of a Minister, whether he has forgotten the plea raised by him so eloquently time after time when the matter came up for discussion

3-30 p.m. "I hope as the question is pending still before the Government, the hon. the Finance Member puts it, the hon. the Excise Minister, the hon. the Law Member and those hon. Members who had interested themselves in this question will have an opportunity of discussing this question before giving their final decision and thus relieve the distress of the ryots. There is no

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justification whatsoever for imposing this unjust burden on the ryots. The recent tour of His Excellency the Governor must have convinced him of the intense loyalty of the ryot population and anything done to impair the confidence in the Government by additional taxation is fraught with evil consequences for the future. Their loyalty is not changed in spite of the causes at work and I am sure that anything done to impose additional taxation on them will be a potent factor to determine their co-operation and loyalty to the Government. What are the corresponding benefits, I ask, that were conferred on the ryots in general, especially the ryots in East Godavari and West Godavari and Kistna districts, for additional burden sought to be imposed? I find no improvements have been effected worth the name to the ryot population of the districts. To mention one instance, I see from the reports of the Council proceedings that the then Member of this Council representing Kistna district in 1921 raised the question whether there were any proposals for the construction of a reservoir to act as a flood operator for the Tammileru river and for the construction of flood banks to the east-west Tammileru for the protection of crops. The hon. the then Revenue Member replied that the proposal was under the scrutiny of the Chief Engineer for Irrigation. I do not know whether it is still under scrutiny or whether it has been shelved. That is one of the items, which if carried out, would have considerably helped the ryot population. Then there are the Kolleru project, the Pollavaram pumping project and several other things which would have cost only a few lakhs of rupees but which would have considerably brought increased revenue to the Government. But nothing seems to have been done in this direction. In these circumstances it is impolitic and unwise that Government should attempt to raise the rates.

(Mr. J. A. Saldanha took the Chair at this stage.)

"Then there is the question of reduction of court fees and stamp duty. In spite of the eloquent plea of the present hon. Excise Minister and the hon. the Law Member these duties were not reduced. The duties were imposed at a time when there was a deficit in the budget of 1922 or so. Since then the financial stringency has passed away. In spite of the matter being brought up before this House time after time, in spite of the token motions tabled in this Council in 1924 or 1925, in spite of one or two hon. Members attempting to introduce a private Bill, and in spite of the assurances of the Government that they would reduce the rates, nothing has been done and I believe there is no probability of reducing the rates. It is an accepted canon that the administration of justice should not be utilized as a source of revenue. The hon. the Excise Minister and the hon. Law Member calculating the figures stated that they showed a surplus of 66 lakhs of rupees in the year 1925 under court-fees and stamps. I have not been able to calculate the exact figures up to date, but I think it should be much more. I do not know whether the Judicial Department should be used as a source of profit."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA (from the Chair) :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

*Rao Sahib B. VENKATARAMAYYA NAYUDU :—"So, there is a strong case for the reduction of taxation in court-fees and stamps which is weighing very heavily on the litigant public and the rates ought to be reduced.

"I want to touch upon only one more topic. As regards grants to local bodies, there is a complaint that moneys that are given to them have not been spent expeditiously."

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Mr. J. A. SALDANHA (from the Chair) :—" I think the hon. Member may touch upon this when token cuts are being moved."

* Mr. G. LAKSHMANA REDDI :—" Sir, I also join the other hon. Members in congratulating the hon. the Finance Member for the speech he made while introducing the budget and for the various items of information he has given in it for the benefit of this House. While doing so, I should like to observe that I do not share the view he has taken, viz., that with a stagnation of land revenue consequent on the policy enunciated by this House and with a depleted excise revenue, the agriculturist has of necessity to be taxed in future. I do not subscribe to this view, Sir, because, if we turn to the pages of the budget, we will find that, with a few cuts on the expenditure side, we can run the administration without any further taxing the ryot. There need not be any fear as the Finance Member apprehends that the future legislator has to function in a 'financial vacuum.' Only if we apply the pruning knife to some of the administrative heads in the budget—expenditure side—we can get on without much additional taxation.

" Sir, the hon. the Finance Member stated that about Rs. 7 lakhs lapsed this year out of the grants made to local bodies for roads. And it is the Government that is responsible for this. As usual these grants are made not at the beginning of the year but at about the middle of the year, and it is no wonder that some local boards failed to carry out their programme in the very short time of four or five months at their disposal. I would request the Government to give the grants early in the year so that the whole sum may be utilized.

" While thanking the hon. the Chief Minister for the increased grant of 3 lakhs of rupees for trunk roads, I submit, Sir, that the second-class roads in this Presidency are being starved. Of course the case of the third-class roads and of the rural communications is really deplorable and I wish the hon. the Chief Minister now and then takes a tour and inspects the condition of these roads. If he does so, he will find that the third-class roads and the rural communications are bad and impassable. What I say is that with regard to the second-class roads there is what is called the fixed grant system obtaining now. I think that this cheeseparing system should give place to a better one and there should be more liberal grants. On account of their importance it is time some of the second-class roads should be treated as first-class roads, and subsidized as such. The Government should not grudge to do this.

" The next question that I want to deal with is about the liberal grant of 5 lakhs of rupees for the drink propaganda. I say this grant is very little and I doubt if the Government is earnest at all in the matter I do not agree with the view (At this stage the hon. the President took the Chair.) of my hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha that Government should not take upon itself the task of appointing Temperance Propaganda Committees. I think it is very necessary in a country like ours where there are so many religions one at war with another that the Government should take upon itself the duty of appointing these propaganda committees and putting down drink. For that purpose the grant of 5 lakhs of rupees is very small for full twelve months. I hope that in the next budget at least due and adequate provision will be made.

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"With regard to the Agricultural and the Veterinary departments in the districts, I should like to point out that the establishment is undermanned. There are not enough of hands in the districts, and whenever the ryots are in need of them, they are not accessible. In the Veterinary department in most of the districts two taluks will have one assistant; and, I think, whenever there are epidemics among cattle the ryots do not easily get the help of these officers in time; and by the time these officers get at them, many cattle die. This has been my experience in the district of Anantapur. Therefore my submission is that, both in the Agricultural and in the Veterinary departments, there should be more hands employed. I need hardly stress the point in a predominently agricultural country as ours.

"In the matter of advances to the agriculturists, as has been pointed out by my hon. Friend Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, no attempt seems to have been made to help the ryots in the districts of Anantapur and Bellary in the matter of the concession rates of takavi loans. It is indeed regrettable and calls for investigation.

"Sir, I also wish to press upon the Government that the Tungabhadra project is an urgent necessity for the Ceded districts. If there is one district, Sir, more than any other in which, as the hon. the Finance Member has so picturesquely stated that rain gambles, it is Anantapur, and it is an axiom that in the Ceded districts rain gambles ever. Every year one part or the other of these districts will be suffering from drought. As such, it is very necessary that a project like the Tungabhadra project should be started as early as possible. The ryots of the Ceded districts have set their hearts to see that this project becomes a *fait accompli* at as early a date as possible. The ryots can live only if this project comes into being and not otherwise; and will the Government come to their rescue betimes?"

*Diwan Bahadur P. C. ETHIRAJULU NAYUDU:—"Mr. President, once more the carnival of speech-making is in full swing and in obedience to ancient tradition, if not in the hope of any attention being given to my remarks, I venture to raise my feeble voice and to speak on behalf of the general public. So far as the budget goes, it seems to be the same monotony repeated, and there has not yet arisen in the minds of those responsible that enlarged outlook and that far off vision would help them to make a bold experiment and lay down a progressive policy which will pave the way for the health and welfare and material prosperity of the people of this Presidency. But perhaps that is too much to expect from the Government, constituted as it is to-day, though I admit that Sir Thomas Moir has done his best during his term of office by his advice. May I not, however, state the dominant feeling of many persons that to-day there is a considerable climbing down in the efficiency of some of the essential services of the Government, and that everywhere there is a feeling that the policy of the Government is none too apparent? I hope, Sir, I may state frankly that one of the services in which a great deal of dissatisfaction has been felt, is the Judicial service constituted as it is to-day. It was indeed no surprise to many of us that the Government had, in their recent order reviewing the administration of the Judicial services, to speak so seriously about the loss of efficiency and the delay and the lack of a proper sense of duty of some of the high-placed members of the Judicial Service. I am indeed glad that the Government have themselves realized that the service requires a great deal of toning up, if the dissatisfaction that is now felt is not to be much severe and keen.

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3-45 p.m. "I am aware, Sir, that the High Court is beyond all criticism, and I do not venture to enter into the controversial field of reviewing the work of that supreme and august body. But, there is undoubtedly a feeling that the proverbial law's delays have reached the maximum and could not possibly be tolerated.

"When we take the mufassal courts into consideration, it is a common knowledge that the work there is so very scrappy, the number of postponements of hearings so frequent, that the litigant public is put to the greatest inconvenience. The judiciary do not seem to be aware that in consulting the convenience of the Bench and the Bar, they very often ignore altogether the litigant public, for whose sake it is supposed that both the Bench and the Bar exist. It is not an uncommon sight in many of the subordinate courts to see the Judges coming into office past the regulation time, and for the time at which courts close, there seems to be no definite time and no definite method in that respect. I know I am speaking with a full sense of responsibility when I make these allegations against the methods of work of the judiciary in this Presidency. But I feel strongly that the criticism is called for and that it is time that the Government did take some serious steps to stop the rot that has set in, in the work of the judiciary in this Presidency.

"I venture to suggest for the serious consideration of the Government the desirability of constituting a commission to enquire into the working of the Judicial Department, to consider the reason for the enormous delay, to suggest ways and means of combating with the heavy litigation that is still in arrears in such a large measure, and to suggest the desirability or the necessity of creating additional posts in particular areas including the High Court. I think the work of the Judicial Department has come to such an impasse that a commission of the description is absolutely necessary; and I trust the hon. the Law Member will bestow his best attention on it. I make this suggestion in a friendly spirit, because I know the hon. the Law Member is just as anxious as any one of us to improve the tone and the efficiency of the Judicial Department; and he is not responsible in any manner for the present condition of affairs in that department; it is a heritage that he has inherited from his predecessors. But I trust he will chalk out a bold policy and justify the hope that is entertained of him that he will be able to cope with the task that lies before him.

"The Judicial Service, more than any other, avails itself of the privilege of the largest number of holidays, and it seems to me that the time is come when, in the interests of the better administration of justice, the Government faced the question as to whether the number of holidays that are now allotted to the different courts should not be curtailed, whether it is not time that they should be asked to dispense justice on other days also when many other departments of Government, doing quite as good work and from whom just as efficient a standard of intellectual equipment is demanded, do sit up and turn out that work.

"There is one other complaint, Sir, that is very often made, that these courts are still housed in private houses and this, I consider, is a very serious and unfortunate state of affairs which should be remedied as early as possible. I do not see any reason why the Government should not take up a building programme, covering over a period of five or ten years, and see that at the end

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of this period, every court-house is located in a public building so as to command the convenience and the confidence of the general public, and particularly of the litigant public. I am glad to see that in the budget, provision is made for the building of some of the court-houses; but I would like the Law Member to seriously consider the desirability of launching on an extensive and complete building programme, such that, as I have suggested before, all court-houses will be located in public buildings in the course of the next five or ten years.

"I now come to the vexed question of the recruitment of the subordinate judiciary. The state of affairs, as revealed by the recent questions and answers, shows that there can be nothing more disappointing and calculated to create a greater amount of bitterness, than in the method by which the judiciary is recruited. In no other Presidency, I venture to say, in no other country, is there such a system of recruitment, and I fear one cannot understand why, in spite of the repeated protests that have been made on the floor of this House, in spite of the repeated attempts that have been made by private Members to introduce a modification in the legislation, why the Government should not themselves take up this question and see that in future, at any rate, this power is vested in the hands of the Public Services Commission, which has been recently created. I do not want the power to be vested in the hands of the Government—for that may lead to criticism of a different kind—but if the Government really believe that the Public Services Commission is to perform its duties impartially and act as a judicial tribunal in the matter of the recruitment of members to the services, there is absolutely no reason why they should not avail themselves of this opportunity to see that this function of recruitment of the subordinate judicial officers is also vested in the Public Services Commission.

"Coming to the Public Services Commission itself, I am glad, Sir, that that Commission has been constituted, and I have no doubt that it will have a useful place in the public life of this Presidency. But it seems to me that there is a necessity at this early stage for the Government to take some steps to see that the principles of recruitment to be based are well understood by the Public Services Commission. We, sitting on this side of the House, have always made it plain that the primary function of any constituted authority for the recruitment of services in the present state of affairs and under existing conditions should be the due apportionment of all such patronage and all such power as between the various communities in this Presidency. May I, as an Andhra, raise my feeble voice of protest against this fact of the complete, the almost complete, effacement of the claims of the Andhras in the matter of the recruitment to the services? May I not also point to the fact that to-day, there is a new monopoly growing up in public services and we, who stand for equal opportunities for all, raise our voice of protest against this monopoly, and against all monopolies—whether that be the monopoly of communities, or the monopoly of districts, or the monopoly of territorial areas. Some of those who have come from the Western countries will easily realize why we should raise this voice of protest. If the Highlander north of Cheviat Hills is none too friendly to an invasion of the little Englander into the home of hills and dales and if the little Englander is just as jealous and as watchful about the invasion of the Scot and the Irish into his home, why should it not be that the invasion of the East Coast by the West Coast or vice versa, and the south all over, should find no favour with anybody who

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stands for a just apportionment of the patronage of the public services? I think I am voicing the feelings of a considerable section of the public, when I say that this growing tendency of recruitment of people from one particular district or one particulâr area of this Presidency should undoubtedly be checked. Otherwise, there would be serious consequences and a greater amount of discontent will result which will be very difficult to assuage.

"I now come to the great irrigation projects launched in this Presidency. Of the Mettur Project, I had once made the remark—'the less said about it, the better'—I can only hope that my prophecies may all prove false, and that I may be convicted by this House as one who has been unduly pessimistic about the utility, the possibility, and the economic construction of the great Mettur Project. I may, however, point out that there is a considerable amount of dissatisfaction, especially in the rural areas, that while these large schemes go through without much difficulty, the minor irrigation projects on which the ryots in many of the small villages depend so largely, are neglected and are not given much consideration by the authorities concerned. The simple question of the repairing of a tank bund, or the construction of a damaged channel, means much more to the poor ryot who has got a small piece of cultivable land at his disposal, while the large projects on which millions are spent and for which a too costly establishment is maintained, will naturally help the man who has already amassed a good fortune and still continues to derive more benefit from the exchequers of the general public.

"Coming to the Police, Sir, it is a matter of satisfaction to me that so far as this Presidency is concerned, the work of the Police has been uniformly satisfactory and I congratulate the hon. Member in charge on the efficiency and the discipline of the forces at his command. Still, there is one feeling that is uppermost in my mind, as in the minds of many others, that unfortunately there are differences which are not yet eradicated as between the two sections of the Police force. I do not see why these differences should be prepetuated between the Indian section and the European section. I would suggest for the serious consideration of the hon. Member that he will be doing a great act of service to the police force if he will see that, as far as possible, these differences are removed, so that there may be a united body of disciplined persons, with no feelings of superiority or inferiority, except by virtue of the office they hold, so that there may be that oneness that is essential and that is the dominating factor in every other country in the ranks of the lesser army of the land. There is one other matter which requires the attention of the hon. Member that many appeals to the superior officers are lying undisposed of indefinitely and I need hardly say that justice delayed is justice denied.

"I come now, Sir, with some hesitation, to the Transferred departments of Government. I do not know if my remarks will have any value at all in this particular field, for I know that things are done in a way that has puzzled even the most optimistic of us as to the reasons which have animated those in charge of these affairs. I do not wish to speak at great length how very disappointing it has been for some of us to note the manner in which Local Self-Government institutions have been handled. Local-Self Government will be a farce and probably worse than a farce if every opportunity is not taken to influence it for good and the utility and efficiency maintained for the best

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interests of the general public. What, after all, does the common villager, the millions of the people of this country want? Good roads, easy facilities of communication, moderate educational facilities for their children and medical relief. Are these considerations kept primarily in view, and have the departments concerned, or the Ministers responsible for these departments, done aught to augment the resources of these departments? More grants for roads, good roads, better facilities of transport and communication, a large number of primary institutions, and medical relief, such that it may reach the remotest village: these are the crying needs of the country. The scheme of rural medical relief inaugurated by my late lamented leader, the late Raja Sahib of Panagal, has not made further progress, because greater amount of encouragement could not be given in this direction. It is necessary that further funds should be placed at the disposal of rural medical dispensaries, that more aid should be given for the doctor and the midwife so that they may have a living wage and need not worry about their natural sustenance. A larger number of rural dispensaries have to be opened in the remoter areas, and I for one feel that, if a programme is set about, a definite topographical distribution of these centres should be made, so that they might not grow haphazard; and if every year the Government will devote a portion of the amount for this particular relief, then in the course of a few years, it can be said that rural medical relief has been completed and made efficient.

"I would like to take this opportunity of referring to the fact that in spite of costly buildings having been put up, the Guntur Medical School is yet in the distant future. I trust the Government will take early steps to see that the school is opened early.

"Regarding propaganda work I find that a sum of only 5 lakhs of rupees has been set apart for this work which is not at all sufficient. The boards are doing really useful work. More pracharakas should be engaged, more magic lantern demonstration should be given. Already the effect of the preachings is felt and in course of time I am sure the masses would be educated to see eye to eye the evils of drink.

"I have referred to the question of the recruitment to some of the services. As far as I can gather, Sir, the Government are now launching on a scheme of recruiting to certain important places without giving that necessary publicity that ought essentially to be the prime factor for the drawing in of the best intellects of the country. I do not know for what reason they are doing it, but I think it is extremely unfortunate that the impression is prevalent that some appointments are filled up without the necessary publicity which will not ensure the best candidate from coming in.

"There is another aspect of the question that I would like to emphasize. There has been unfortunately a tendency in recent times to place a greater credit on the Western Universities than on our own Universities. I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the remarks of the High Commissioner that it should be made plain to everybody that a qualification of an English University does not necessarily mean a passport to public service. If the Government is going to welcome and to encourage the possessors of degrees of the English Universities as against those of the Indian Universities then I would ask of them in common fairness and decency to cut down all their grants to University education in this country and to close down the Universities. That is the only consistent policy with an attitude or

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a frame of mind which prefers a foreign qualification just because of that glamour of a foreign degree. I had hoped that those days had passed; but unfortunately recent events will show that, far from those days having passed, there is a recrudescence of that spirit proceeding from persons who have to be the first to safeguard the prestige and the utility of home Universities.

"I am afraid I must come to a close. I have only tried to point out a few of the urgent defects that have to be remedied. I know that if I were to enter upon a theme, the time at my disposal, or the time at the disposal of the House, will not permit me to complete the tale of woe. As I said in the beginning, this is an annual carnival of speech-making; what permanent effect it will have I do not think that I can with any hope prophesy. I would, however, commend to the front benches opposite, the necessity of keeping up the prestige and efficiency of the Government and do anything for the poor to see that the general good of the public is safeguarded."

4 p.m. * The ZAMINDAR OF SINGAMPATTI :—" Sir, I now rise up to tender my heartiest congratulations on the hon. the Finance Member for the very lucid and masterly statement of the fiscal condition of this Presidency during the current year and his forecast for the next. I fully appreciate the reference to the new 'constitutional regime' to be ushered in within a comparatively short period of time as stated by the hon. the Finance Member; and although I had expected that for the increased expenditure certain untapped resources for augmenting receipts might be envisaged, my hon. Friend has apparently left the task to his successor.

"I must also express my deep misgivings as regards the still increasing revenue under the head of Excise, and its estimate is indeed appalling, notwithstanding the explanation stated in paragraph 6 of the report, which however is pleasant reading. I say that as long as such revenue is tainted at its source, it must fill our minds with sorrow and lead us to discover a way out, as the expenditure on education and other useful and necessary items will touch the middle and upper classes only, while the administration of the excise it is that will reach the masses; and unless and until the 'anti-drink propaganda' is broadcasted with enthusiasm, the masses cannot effectively be weaned away from this infectious habit; and while I can fully sympathize with the hon. the Finance Member in his anxiety not to lose hold of this main source of revenue, it is up to all interested in the financial stability of this Presidency and in its vast population to have such source replaced by some other and generally accepted one; and let us still hope for the best.

"I once again extend my hearty felicitations to the hon. the Finance Member for the interesting presentation which to me has been of an educative value.

"I am happy to state that what the Finance Member had anticipated in 1926, by way of still further advances in the material prosperity of the Presidency, has become a fact accomplished to a considerable extent, and for my part, I believe that the hon. Sir Thomas Moir has been the sun, round which we have revolved, and he will continue to send his rays to us and our Presidency even from a vast distance."

* Mr. A. B. SHETTY :—" Mr. President, Sir, the hon. Sir Thomas Moir during his stewardship of the finances of this province has found it possible to provide for many new developments owing to the unequal increases to our resources resulting from the remission of provincial contributions. But the

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allotment of funds for these purposes has been made in a haphazard way according to his own admission. Temporary affluence blinded the financial sense and money was doled out for schemes which happened to be ready without taking care to find out whether there were not more essential schemes which had a prior claim on our finances. Expenditure has been allowed to grow in an injudicious manner while all the time the Financial Memb er hs been telling us that expenditure cannot continue to be on the upward grade to the same degree in future years. For at least three years now the Finance Member has been sounding a note of warning that the normal growth of revenue will be inadequate to meet the immensity of our needs in future. He frightened the opposition leaders last year with the prospect of having to frame in future a budget on the basis of land revenue which has to remain stationary, of stamp duties which have to be reduced and of an excise income which has to be wiped out if the popular demand in these matters is to be met and then of providing from such an exchequer with diminishing revenues for the ever growing demands from nation building departments. This time while presenting his last budget he asks this House to contemplate the financial future of this Presidency with the imminent prospect of further addition to our expenditure under the coming constitutional regime. He leaves to the Legislative Council the responsibility of finding new sources of revenue to be substituted for excise revenue which is gradually to disappear and for the increase in land revenue which is to be put a stop to. He gloomily forecasts that if this is not done his successors will have to function in a financial vacuum under provincial autonomy.

"Since the reforms almost every provincial Government in this country seem to have been faced with financial stringency and they have found themselves unable to provide adequately for the expansion of education, agriculture, medical relief and the other nation building services. It has been pointed out that this difficulty has risen mainly on account of the Central Government keeping to itself every source of expanding revenue and assigning to the Local Government inelastic sources of revenue to meet the demands of transferred departments which require increase in expenditure year after year. The consideration of this matter will have to be left to those who have to allocate heads of revenue to the Central and Local Governments under the new constitutional regime. Let us confine ourselves to the problem put before us by the Finance Member. In what way have the Madras Government tried to economise expenditure or to augment the resources of this province so as to avoid the financial straits to which according to the Finance Member, Madras will be driven in the near future? The Government is being maintained on a top-heavy scale unsuited to the economic conditions of this poor country. No attempt has been made to reduce the salaries of men at the top or to bring down the huge expenditure on buildings. On the other hand we are having a number of new posts with large salaries and reorganizations of superior services on a higher scale of pay. The 'brick and mortar side' of the ordinary departmental expansions is continuing to be provided on a lavish scale though the Public Works Department is unable to spend the funds so generously placed at its disposal. The huge sum of Rs. 247·59 lakhs has been provided for Civil Works in this budget. This means an increase of no less than 56 and odd lakhs over the revised estimates of the sum to be spent on this head during the current year. The expenditure on civil works forms now the third biggest item of expenditure. It is surprising to find the

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Finance Member telling us that the Government have found it impossible to give effect to the demand for the creation of a Rural Development fund. Is this the way in which the Government are giving effects to the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission? This Commission has laid special emphasis on the duty of the Government to bring to bear all its resources on the improvement of village life in all directions on the ground that it is the first and most essential step for promoting national welfare and prosperity. This House has time and again urged the necessity for creating a Rural Development fund. Could not the Government give at least 50 lakhs as a nucleus for this fund out of the surplus in hand or by cutting down the expenditure on Civil Works. The Finance Member is probably right in saying that after all a revenue of 18½ crores for a large province like this with 42 millions of people is hardly sufficient to provide more than the barest essentials. His view is that in a Province like Madras, of which the wealth is predominantly agricultural, new or substituted taxation will have to fall mainly upon agriculture. To what extent have the Government used their resources to develop the agricultural wealth of this province? The improvement and the extension of agriculture and the development of industries is no doubt the best way to add to the material wealth of the people and to enhance the income of the State at the same time. Yet Government have all along been most niggardly in spending money for such a fruitful purpose as it is evident to us from the Budget memorandum. Agriculture and Industries get only 73·25 lakhs out of a total expenditure of 1,861·90 lakhs in this budget, i.e., only 4 per cent of the money we have to spend. From 1920–21 to 1930–31 our expenditure has risen to the extent of 669·78 lakhs but out of this increase only 35·73 lakhs, i.e., barely 5 per cent of the total increase has gone for Agriculture and Industries. This is how the premier source of our wealth is being looked after by the Government. Contrast with this the Police Budget which swallows as much as 173 and odd lakhs and you can understand how Government are discharging their responsibility. It must be said to the credit of the Government that they have recognized their duty better in the matter of education and given it the first place in the budget with Rs. 306·41 lakhs allotted for it in the coming year. It is a pity that a great deal of the money spent on the primary education of children who don't remain sufficiently long in school to attain literacy is practically wasted. It is only by the introduction of the compulsory system that this waste can be effectively stopped. The recurring cost of universal elementary education has been officially estimated at figures varying from 6¼ crores to 10½ crores or so. If Government can't afford to have compulsory education for all children, they can adopt compulsion to keep at school boys who first come there of their own accord and see that they complete the primary course. The additional expenditure necessary for adopting this form of compulsion will be comparatively small and it will be worth incurring for preventing the present waste of public funds on elementary education. As the Hartog Committee has rightly observed, there is waste and ineffectiveness not only in the primary system but throughout the whole of our educational system. We have few or no institutions here corresponding to the technical and vocational institutions in the Western countries where varied forms of training for practical life are given. So the large majority of our boys whether they are suited for higher studies are not have to pass through the same mill and go from school to college and find themselves at last in the unemployment market. The

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Government are guilty of a serious neglect in the matter of giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee of Unemployment. Repeated questions in the Council by myself as well as others have failed to move the hon. the Home Member to take action in this matter. The unemployment of the educated classes is assuming serious proportions and unless Government take immediate steps to tackle this problem by adapting our educational system to the economic conditions of our country, and in other ways, there can be no salvation for our young men.

"It is very disappointing to find that the Government have not yet thought of giving financial assistance out of the provincial revenues to the Board of Religious Endowments and the temple committees under them to carry on their work. The levying of contributions from temples and mutts has made the working of the Endowments Act rather unpopular, and the collection of this amount has also been found difficult. The Endowment Board and the temple committees have no funds to employ adequate staff for the work of inspection, supervision and collection. There is no money for conducting even elections to the committees. The consequence is that the work of the Board and committees has been seriously handicapped. A great deal of our national wealth is locked up in our temples and mutts and proper administration of these institutions and funds is sure to result in immense good to the country. The Religious Endowments Act has been hailed as one of the most beneficent pieces of legislation placed on the statute book by the reformed Council because it is intended for this very purpose. It is, therefore, most regrettable that the Government are not helping the operation of this Act by giving the contributions which the Board and the committees need so much."

* Mr. M. V. GANGADHARA SIVA :—"Mr. President, Sir, I rise to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for having presented the Budget. The present system of assignment of lands to the depressed classes, does in no way help the members of the depressed classes, for the reason that we are asked to cultivate barren and stony lands at a great deal of expense of money and labour and when the lands are made cultivable, those lands are thrown open for auction, or they are said to be venka porambokes. All this is due to the mischief of the karnams and reddis who make the report to the Government. Our immediate trouble is through the petty karnams and the reddis who constitute the real bar for the poor cultivating ryots of the depressed classes. I therefore request the hon. the Revenue Member to make a special note of this and to instruct the district collectors to investigate the matter personally when such cases occur and not to leave it in the hands of the tahsildars, revenue inspectors, karnams and reddis.

"Then, coming to the Excise department, after a great deal of agitation, Government have sanctioned five lakhs of rupees for starting propaganda work. After short experience, it has been found that this has solved the unemployment problem to some extent, but not the problem of drinking liquor. The chairmen of the various committees appoint such persons as pracharakas who can be useful to them in their elections and not in the discharge of their legitimate duties. According to a Government Order, members of the depressed classes should be given preference in appointing

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pracharakas and propagandists, but the chairmen of committees are not taking into their heads this instruction in appointing pracharakas for conducting classes. Sir, I therefore request Government that a fair amount of these appointments may be given to the students of the depressed classes who can work better than the chairmen of the committees. Moreover, in my opinion, it is a waste of public money and Government money on this purpose.

"Coming to the question of the Police department, we have been agitating
4-15 p.m. on the floor of this House on many occasions, for the recruitment of the members of the depressed classes as constables and head constables, but in vain. We complained many a time especially regarding the raising of our social status, and our people being appointed as constables or head constables. I request the hon. the Home Member to make a special note of this and direct the Superintendents of Police to give preference to our depressed classes people at least 50 per cent when selection is made for constables and head constables; more especially because since this department requires no higher qualification than a knowledge of the three R's.

"Mr. President, on more than one occasion, on the floor of this House, we have elicited by way of interpellation answers from the Government as well as from the Ministers that we are Hindus. When such being the case why not the depressed classes be not given a chance of being a member in the temple committees. I request the hon. the Chief Minister to make a bold attempt in the interest of the depressed classes, and to nominate our people to temple committees. Anyhow, Mr. President, we as the true sons of India are making arrangements to get this to a successful end, irrespective of consequences.

"Another serious insult to our community is that in the sign boards in front of coffee hotels, restaurants and saloons, it is clearly written, that Panchamas, Muhammadans and Christians are not allowed admission. Mr. President, this sort of advertisement in open public places disgracing our position will lead to serious calamities, and it tends in the coming generations to create a feeling of distinction of castes. I request the hon. the Minister for Public Health to make arrangements or to send a note to the Corporation to remove such sign boards in the interests of the Panchamas, Muhammadans and Christians.

Mr. President, when the allopathic system of medicine was started in India it is our people who offered service first, and it is the doctors and midwives from our community who established the allopathic system in India. When that system was in the infant stage in India the orthodox Hindus hated it for the reason that the students had to be taught on the dead bodies first. When such being the case, Mr. President, why should not Government give the first preference to the depressed classes in the matter of admission to the medical schools and colleges and midwife classes. I request the hon. the Minister for Public Health to make a note of this and instruct the Surgeon General to see that our people are given preference in admission and selection in the medical schools and colleges and in midwifery classes. Further I request Government to give some substantial grants to Homeopathic dispensaries run by private doctors at great sacrifice to such dispensaries commended by officials and non-officials."

* Mr. D. THOMAS:—"Mr. President, Sir, this hon. House is under a debt of gratitude to the hon. the Finance Member for the very clear

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exposition of the financial position and prospects of this Presidency. He has told us that there are two main items of revenue to this province, and of these two items the item of agriculture has reached the maximum stage of expansion possible, and that the other item of revenue, to wit, excise, is bound to disappear in the course of a few years. He has thus sounded in this, his last budget, a note of gloomy foreboding. But I believe that this note of pessimism is not justifiable on the actual facts of the matter. Taking the revenue from agriculture we find though the maximum rate has been reached still there are in this province large areas of untilled ground. We know the Agricultural department of this Government is functioning and is seeking to give facilities for improved water-lift. We know the Department of Public Works is trying to improve and enhance the sources of irrigation in this province. If we are to place reliance on the activities of the Agricultural department and those of the Public Works Department, and if we believe that in the coming years greater facilities will be given for the installation of water-lifts for dry and increased irrigation sources for wet lands then I believe the revenue from agriculture will not be stagnant.

"In the case of excise revenue also, I believe the Finance Member's pessimism is not justifiable. My hon. Friend, Mr. Kumaraswami Reddiyar, has shown from the figures of the budget for the last year and for this year that the Government themselves do not have much faith in the effects of temperance propaganda. As regards the working of the temperance boards I must say that it is only just a few months since these boards have been started and it is too early to pronounce our final judgment on the achievements of these boards. But I believe that I would be justified in saying that the very nature of the propaganda is such that it can only touch the very fringe of the problem, and nothing more than that. In these days of the twentieth century, direct and didactic preachings will have very little effect. After all there are only three or four pracharakas for each of the 26 districts; and this, I submit, is only like a drop of water in an ocean. The influence or the cause which drives these people to the toddy shop is not lack of knowledge, or lack of power to realize the evils of drinking, but the real cause s traceable to two sources, one direct and the other an indirect cause. The direct cause is that these people are not able to exercise sufficient restraint, sufficient control over themselves in the face of numerous opportunities and temptations that are placed before them in their daily life and daily avocations. The indirect cause is that their economic life is so low, their environment is so sordid that the only refuge they can seek to secure a temporary forgetfulness is by the fumes of intoxication. So long as Government confine themselves to this sort of propaganda, that is, by methods of sweet persuasion and preaching, they will be safe. It is only when Government are prepared to commit themselves to direct methods of prohibition and to adopt and carry out methods for the economic upliftment of the ordinary people then only the drink problem will be tackled efficiently and effectively. I believe that the carrying out of this propaganda work will be a sort of blind which will prevent us from realizing our real position. By pursuing this policy Government are not going to have a less amount of revenue from excise, but I fear they may have even a larger amount than that they at present enjoy. In the United States to adopt complete prohibition it required not persuasion, not a mere cull of sweetness and light but an amendment of the constitution.

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"In dealing with the question of the maximum capacity of taxation being reached the hon. the Finance Member did not resolutely grapple with the ways by which the situation can be met. The situation can be met in two ways, one by finding out sources of substituted taxation, and the other by effecting retrenchment in Government departments. So far as the problem of substituted taxation is concerned it appears that the hon. the Finance Member has taken a detached and non-chalant view of the situation. What the Finance Member says is that the Legislative Council is going to be given greater powers in times to come and it is the look-out of the Legislative Council to find out ways and means by which this substituted taxation can be found out. In this connexion, I must be allowed to say that the Finance Member as well as the Government of this province have got as much a duty to devote their energies and attention to this matter as any other body. They cannot simply say: 'Here we are, it is the duty of the Legislative Council to find out sources of substituted taxation.' I believe it is by the genuine and co-operative effort of the Government of Madras and of every member of this House that we shall be able to find out sources of substituted revenue.

"As regards the other alternative, that is, the adopting of the policy of retrenchment, several hon. Members of this House have already referred to the fact that in no department of the Government has any serious attempt been made to adopt it. It has been pointed out in the picturesque language of the hon. Finance Member that the money of the ryots is being converted into bricks and mortar. (Mr. R. Nagan Gowda: Hear, hear.) Coming to the question of education, it is well to observe that the allotment of money to education is generally high over all other heads. Mr. Shetty pointed out that to a certain extent the Government of Madras is liberal in regard to educa-tion. But I believe the increase in the allotment over the last year's figures is due to the fact that it is proposed to reorganize the services. I think the real thing to be done is with regard to the improvement of schools. Take the question of the education of women; recently the University Commission toured round the Presidency and as a result of their peregrinations they have made several strictures on the colleges and one of the colleges affected seriously by this is the Sarah Tucker College in Tinnevelly."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member will have to come to a close soon."

4-30 p.m. Mr. D. THOMAS:—"I believe that in the matter of women's education the Government ought to provide adequate funds not only for the current working of the various institutions but also for the efficient equipment and outfit. I believe that the Government of Madras will in the present year and in the years to come be able to provide the necessary funds for the purpose both of equipment and also the current working.

"I have only one word to say as regards the Judicial Department. The revenue which is derived from the Judicial Department is over Rs. 165 lakhs —Rs. 145 lakhs from the sale of judicial stamps and Rs. 20 lakhs and odd from the levy of fees and other miscellaneous items."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member has far exceeded the time-limit."

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*Mr. T. K. CHIDAMBARANATHA MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, it is not as a matter of routine that I acknowledge with gratitude the financial statement that has been presented to us by the hon. the Finance Member. Sir, he has entertained fears and also hopes in respect of the finances of our Presidency and he has expressed those fears and hopes in such a forcible manner that we have been enabled to realize all his fears and hopes in a quite intimate manner. He has shown his sympathetic concern for the welfare not only of our immediate finance but also for that of the years to come. It is true, however, he has not been able to see certain things in their proper perspective. For example, he says that 'the ryot as a whole has had more money to save or to spend on superfluities or luxuries and has spent part of his surplus on alcoholic drinks.' I should say, Sir, that it is rather a violent inference with regard to the prosperous condition of the ryots. But we must make allowance for the fact that the position in which he is placed not only officially but also socially prevents him from realizing the hard condition of the ryots as we are able to do.

"Then, Sir, I may be permitted to say a few words regarding the paragraph concerning excise. It is a great satisfaction to us all that the Finance Member has been able to say in respect of the temperance propaganda that is going on in this Presidency that its object is really to suppress the custom and tastes from which the revenue is derived. Then, Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Saldanha observed that the Government must not undertake the business of preventing drinks. In this connexion, I may be permitted to refresh the memory of this House with regard to the achievements of Mr. Saldanha all along till some six months back in this House when he was occupying this block along with his erstwhile colleagues. It was always an entertaining feature in the question time when the hon. Minister for Excise was put questions by Mr. Saldanha himself and his comrades in respect of the fact that Government was not doing anything for preventing drink and the missiles that were thrown at him were really of a powerful character and the Minister actually quailed. There was some weight in the criticisms that were levelled against the Government. Now what do we hear from Mr. Saldanha? He says that the Government must not undertake the business of preventing drink. At the time when the Government was not doing anything they were denouncing the Government that they had not raised one little finger of theirs to prevent drink but now he says it is not the duty of the Government. The cogency between what he was saying then and what he is saying now is really too subtle for our heads to comprehend. Then, Sir, I may say that the temperance propaganda in the Tinnevelly district has been doing some substantial work. True it is that the hands that are available are rather few. However, I know instances in which whole villages have stopped drink altogether. And they have also petitioned to the Minister and the Excise Commissioner that the shops must be closed in their villages. There is a wholesome clamour on the part of many villagers that the propagandists must come to them more frequently. The hon. the Minister for Excise is doing his best to enlarge the sphere of work and also the means whereby all that can be achieved. In this connexion, I may be permitted to say that it is no small piece of executive initiative and achievement that in spite of the traditions of the Government, it has been possible for the hon. Excise Minister to deal a rather deadly blow upon the till-now-venerated idol, the vessel of liquor, whether it be in the form of a cask or a bottle or the unpretentious 'kallu kalayam.'"

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* Rao Bahadur C. S. RATNASABHAPATI MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, as this is the last budget which the hon. the Finance Member will have introduced in this Council, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate him on the successful manner in which he had been handling the finances of this Presidency during the period of his stewardship.

" I consider, Sir, that the Government have underestimated the receipts and to some extent overestimated the expenditure especially under Civil Works. It is explained that receipts and expenditure are budgeted on the law of averages. In so doing at the end of the year we have invariably seen increase under receipts and decrease under certain items of expenditure. This is also borne out by the statement of the Accountant-General and Auditor-General published in the report of the Accounts Committee for 1927–28.

" Between 1921–22 and 1929–30 the revenues of this Presidency have increased by 273·18 lakhs while the expenditure shows an increase of 431·81 lakhs. The increase under Land Revenue amounts to 36·84 lakhs; but in proportion to this increase, no corresponding expenditure has been incurred for the benefit of those who contributed this amount to the coffers of the exchequer. Of the increase of 431·81 lakhs under expenditure, a sum of 31·14 lakhs is absorbed by the Land Revenue, General Administration, Law and Police Departments, leaving a sum of 400·67 lakhs for all the other departments of Government. A cursory reading of the budget leads one to the conclusion that a disproportionately large amount is being spent on services and civil works. Just before the inauguration of the Montford reforms the Government decided to increase the salaries of its servants and introduced an incremental scale of salaries. Little did the public then realize its financial implications. The worst fears which the hon. Mr. Todhunter gave expression to, in his speech on the budget for 1921–22, have now been realized. Even in regard to the budget under discussion, the hon. the Finance Member has observed that, in view of the fact that one of the two main sources of revenue shall be reduced to stagnation and the other gradually undermined and destroyed, the House shall have, before long, to face the question of substituted taxation. In this connexion, I must observe that, in our attempt to make good the loss of revenue in the two directions, we must direct our attention, more to effect retrenchment in the higher ranks of the services than devising additional sources of revenue which, as has been observed by the hon. the Finance Member himself, would ultimately fall only on the agriculturists. At the risk of being misunderstood, I am constrained to observe that the country cannot afford to continue to maintain the staff of the higher ranks of the permanent services, at its present cost any longer. I venture to state that the time has been reached when Government should revise the policy of expenditure on its services and explore avenues for the reduction of the ever-increasing expenditure in that direction, having at the same time due regard for efficiency. Further the sums set apart for the provision of office buildings and quarters for Government officials are disproportionately high. As I stated last year, this Presidency can ill-afford to lock up such enormous sums in brick and mortar. It is high time that the Government takes up the question of seeing how far the construction of quarters for their officers is a paying proposition.

" The crying need of the hour is the extension of medical relief in its various phases to the urban and rural parts of the Presidency. I am sorry

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that no adequate provision has been made for the extension of facilities for the treatment of venereal and dental diseases in the mufassal hospitals. Provision must, in my opinion, be made for the opening of such sections in every district headquarter hospital. The menace of tuberculosis is ever on the increase and no strenuous attempts have so far been made to combat the same in the mufassal. The pressing need for the opening of tuberculosis hospitals in the mufassal, in localities considered suitable for the purpose, has, I submit, the first claim on the sum allotted for medical relief in the budget under discussion. I appeal therefore to the hon. the Minister for Public Health to take up the question in right earnest and sanction the opening of some such hospitals in the mufassal.

"There is a widespread feeling that provision for water-supply and drainage schemes is not being made on a suitable scale. It is admitted by all that an adequate supply of protected and pure water is a dire human necessity ; and the Government or the local body charged with the administration of the locality concerned that fails to provide such supply would be failing in one of its primary duties towards the citizens committed to its charge.

"In this connexion, I have to refer to the fact that, for the first time after the introduction of the Local Self-Government, the Government have, during the current year, made a claim on certain municipalities in the Presidency for payment of charges in respect of water taken from certain rivers for drinking and other purposes. I need hardly say that such a claim is unjustified and will throw an additional burden on the slender resources of the municipalities. I hope that the hon. the Minister for Public Health will give the matter the consideration it deserves and not only withdraw the claim but also see that such claims are not put forward in the future. 4-45 p.m.

"The advantages which the establishment of an Agricultural College in Coimbatore was expected to confer on the agriculturists, have not, I regret to state, been materialized. (Hear, hear.) It was expected that, with the establishment of the college and with the assistance which those turned out of the college would render to the agriculturists of the country, the latter would be able to make two blades grow where only one grew before. These anticipations have not yet been realized ; and the prevalent opinion is that the expenditure so far incurred on the college has been a 'monumental waste'. With regard to the Madras Forest College the less said the better. The opinion held even in responsible quarters is that it is a white elephant.

"Representations have been made to the Government to raise the present second-grade college at Coimbatore to the position of a first-grade college. I regret to state that the Government have turned a deaf ear to those representations. The result has been that poor parents have been sending their children to far-off places for their higher collegiate education and maintaining them at heavy expenditure. Coimbatore is the third largest municipal centre in this Presidency. The first two centres have first-grade colleges and first-grade colleges have been established in places of lesser importance also. It is only in the fitness of things that my city also should have a first-grade college. Whether Coimbatore gets a college or not at least let me have the consolation that the hon. the Chief Minister hears what I say. I would therefore appeal to the hon. the Chief Minister with all sincerity

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and earnestness that I can command to be pleased to reconsider the question and reach a decision favourable to us and earn thereby the lasting gratitude of the people of the Coimbatore district.

"In passing, I may observe, Sir, that after the introduction of the scheme of grant for 'single-teacher schools' the strength of most of such schools has considerably increased, necessitating the employment of more teachers. Local bodies find it difficult to meet the increased expenditure even after the levy of education cess, as Government subsidy has not been increased in proportion to the increase in the number of teachers. I think it is high time that the Government takes up the question for consideration and sanction early the grant of increased subsidies to local bodies.

"Sir, rural communications have not received their due share of attention in the budget. A good road is a necessity in most of the villages not so much as a matter of convenience for motor traffic but as a necessary means of ordinary locomotion. A good road is as great a necessity in rural organization as a railway in national organization. The insistence of the condition imposed by Government that half the cost of road construction should be met by the local bodies from out of their funds acts as an impediment to any progress being made in this direction. I urge therefore that the rule be relaxed and that the local bodies be permitted to utilize the grants made to them for the purpose even if they are not able to find their share of the cost, provided the Government are satisfied that such local bodies deserve special consideration. While I am on the subject of grants, I cannot but allude to the observations of the hon. the Finance Member that, under Civil Works and Public Health, there has been a lapse of grants to the extent of 95 lakhs in the year and to his complaint against the departments concerned in respect of those lapses. I may venture to express the opinion that the departments are not wholly to blame. Application to Government for a grant is purely, if I may say so, a game of chance. In the hope of being able to obtain the grant, in the course of any coming year, local bodies begin to press their applications from an earlier year, even though they are admittedly not in a position to start the work in respect of which they apply for a grant. The total absence of any degree of certainty in obtaining the grant is answerable to the lack of approximation to accuracy which the hon. the Finance Member has complained about.

"In attempting a forecast of the future, the hon. the Finance Member has rightly alluded to the political turmoil in which we are at present engaged and drawn our attention to the fresh constitutional changes that we shall shortly be entering upon and to the responsibility that rests upon our shoulders in the direction of seeing that the future Council is not placed in the position of having to function in a financial vacuum and take an exchequer, with declining assets, and strained beyond its capacity by virtue of our present commitments. I am keenly alive to the responsibility that rests upon us in this direction. I may also inform the House that although I had originally intended to press for the reduction of stamp duties and court-fees, in view of the observations of the hon. the Finance Member, I have made up my mind to give way for the present, so far as that question is concerned. But it is impossible for me, Sir, to agree with him when he seeks, however, to use the same argument against the creation of a Rural Development Fund. The creation of a Rural Development Fund is, in my opinion, a matter of such urgent importance that the putting off of that

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question will admit of no justification whatsoever. I therefore earnestly reiterate the appeal which I made to Government during the course of the discussion in March last, and press for the early constitution of a Rural Development Fund."

* Mr. Ramanath Goenka :—" This is the first time when I take part in a budget discussion for now I am forced to make a few remarks on a matter which bitterly affects the poor people. I am a seller of piece-goods and yarns to the poor. If their purchasing power is reduced I cannot sell my piece-goods quickly and therefore I lose money. Much has been made by people at Home as also by the Secretary of State about increasing the purchasing power of the ryots of this country. But we see now that all the money that the people can save is lost by drink. Sir, nothing is being done to tackle this question but simply eye-washes are being made. Five lakhs have been allotted for prohibition propaganda, but I do not think, Sir, any useful purpose will be served by giving this amount for this propaganda. If the revenue to the Government from this source is 6 crores the poor people have got to pay on account of this drink evil something like 18 crores to make the Government get 6 crores out of it. If the Government get 6 crores and the people waste 18 crores, cannot the human intellect devise any means for saving at least the 12 crores which is being wasted to-day ? Human intellects have been able in the past as well as in the present to devise methods of doing things which are said to be impossible by certain persons. Can they not save this wastage of 12 crores ? That is the point on which I lay stress. If you can save these 12 crores then the poor people can buy more cloth, can be happier, can buy all their requirements, can lead easy lives in their homes and it naturally follows that I will have more profit. Sir, a lot is being said about increasing the purchasing power of the ryot but they do not even lift their little finger in the matter of prohibition. Sir, I have got figures given to me and I have carefully looked into the budget for the last four years. Every year the actual receipt from drink is more than what is estimated by the most clever Finance Member. Sir, they say that our revenue will be $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores; it is actually six crores. When they say $4\frac{1}{2}$ it will be 5 crores, Sir, from the report of the Madras Excise Commissioner the consumption of country spirit in the previous year was 2,264,965 gallons and in the year 1928–29 2,517,568 gallons, showing an increase of 11·2 per cent. In foreign liquor there was an increase of 17·8 per cent. In beer there was an increase of 17·8 per cent. In the consumption of opium there was an increase of 41 per cent. In ganja there has been an increase of 6·5 per cent. As regards toddy there has been a consumption of something like 15 million gallons. Though the propaganda is being done by the Government, rather supposed to be done by the Government, nothing actually is being done. If the Government is serious about it why not the Government bring forward a Bill that any advertisement of liquor will be illegal? Is it a great thing to be done ? Where there is a will there is a way. Where there is no will you have simply to curtail the powers of the people. The poor people are fasting to-day. It is said that we must do something for the poor people; we must do rural reconstruction, this and that. But we are not doing anything. Sir, as regards this drink I am satisfied that you can devise means for stopping drink without losing the revenue. If people are able to save 18 crores they will be willing to pay 9 crores instead of 6 crores. You can get income from the earnings of the people. You can get by way of agricultural revenue. You can get by way of income-tax. If people make money

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and save money Government also can get money from so many forms of taxation. This is a matter which must be dealt with and dealt with seriously by the House. I am surprised that Government is lucky enough to have friends like Mr. Muthiah Mudaliyar to say that we are trying our best. They know that they are doing nothing. The Government says: 'Here is your representative, who is looking after it. What are we to do?' As a matter of fact our representative ought to be more careful of performing his duty properly. He can at least bring in a Bill to close 5 per cent of the shops every year. If that is done what will be the net result? You may lose 5 or 10 lakhs every year which you can very well lose. When we had a saving of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores of provincial contribution you must have come forward. Now you say we have no money. You could have tackled the excise problem with $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores in the pocket and we could have met the demands for education and public health by further taxation. I am not one of those who say that education and public health are not crying needs in India; but the more dire necessity is the elimination of the drink evil. Next I want to speak about the Official Assignee of Madras."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member has exceeded the time-limit.

" The Council will be sitting on Saturday as well to reconsider the Malabar Tenancy Bill and also the Andhra University Amendment Bill. The Council will now adjourn and reassemble to-morrow at 11 o'clock."

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.